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UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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PRO-SLAVERY RESOLUTIONS OF THE TRINIDAD LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD GREY, HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL
SECRETARY FOR THE COLONIES.

MY LORD,—If the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society had not had the misfortune of frequently calling your lordship's attention to laws, the obvious design of which was to abridge the just rights of the emancipated classes, and to coerce the labour of immigrants in the British colonies, they would have felt profound astonishment at the recent attempt of the Legislative Council of Trinidad to lay the basis, in a series of resolutions, for the re-enactment of a Slave Code, under the pretence of organising an efficient system of labour in that island. But having, for several years past, witnessed the retrograde policy of the principal colonies in relation to the labouring population, whether Creole or immigrant, and the sanction which it has, unhappily, received from the Home Government, they view this new attempt at coercion with deeper regret than surprise, and deplore the counsels, as they foresee the pernicious effects which must result from it. Laws intended to regulate the relations between masters and servants, unless founded in justice and equity, are sure to breed discontent, and, when enforced with rigour, have either been found to lead to dangerous consequences, or have failed to accomplish the purposes for which they were originally framed. To coerce labour, and maintain freedom, is impossible. The various schemes which have already been resorted to, in Trinidad and other colonies, each more stringent than that which preceded it, to drive labour into a particular channel, and to keep it there, demonstrate this; and, now that these schemes have all failed, another and more oppressive mode of compulsion is to be tried, unless your lordship can be persuaded to interpose the authority of the Crown to prevent it.

On the 2nd of November last, the Attorney-General of Trinidad, under instructions received from Lord Harris, the governor of the island, laid before the Legislative Council of that colony a series of resolutions, of which the following is a copy:—

1. "That every immigrant shall be bound to some particular estate as a contract servant, for a term not less than five years, nor determinable in any case before the age of twenty-one.
2. "That the allocation of such servants shall be left to the discretion of the governor.
3. "That the sum of be paid by the owner of the estate for each contract servant bound to the estate, whether such servant be introduced at the expense of the Imperial Government or of the colony.
4. "That such contract servants shall be subject to the inspection of paid public inspectors, to be appointed and removable by the governor.
5. "That in case of any change of ownership of the estate, or for other cause, it shall be competent to the governor to determine any such contract, and to bind the servant to some other estate for the residue of the term.
6. "That every such contract servant shall be entitled, at the expense of the proprietor of the estate on which he is located, to medical attendance, and to food, clothing, and wages, to be so adjusted, that as the contract approaches to its determination the allowance of food and clothing shall diminish, and the amount of wages increase, until the last year, when the wages shall be equal to those allowed to other labourers.
7. "That any such contract servant shall be bound to labour, not by the task, but by the day, from sunrise to sunset, with the exception of hours for meals.
8. "That every wilful neglect of work or disobedience of orders shall be punishable, on the adjudication of a magistrate, by the determination of the contract, or by imprisonment with hard labour, which term of imprisonment shall be made good by the contract servant to his master by a proportionate extension of his term of service.

9. "That no contract servant shall be allowed to go beyond a certain distance from the estate, without a pass or licence from the person in charge of the estate.

10. "That a portion of the Saturday and Sunday shall be set apart for attendance at village-schools, to be provided at the expense of each ward.

11. "That the completion of his contract of service, without having been subjected to imprisonment, shall entitle the servant to a free grant of a small parcel of land for a house and garden, in localities to be selected by the governor for villages."

In the speech which prefaced the introduction of these extraordinary resolutions, the Attorney-General became the exponent of the wishes of the planters; and, apart from the immediate object he had in view, indicated a mode of proceeding which would place the entire labouring population of Trinidad at their mercy. He said, "I would suggest a general system of registration, which would compel every individual to register himself as the domiciled inhabitant of a particular ward; I would permit, however, unlimited change of domicile, with the slight check of a small fee on every registration after the first; would give to a residence of a certain number of years, in case of poverty or disability to work, the right to a maintenance at the public expense; would treat as a vagrant every person found beyond the limits of his ward idling, without any means of support; and would punish squatting as an offence against public economy. So far as this system," he added, "may be open to the objection of coercion, I should not be deterred by the objection." The learned gentleman went even beyond this, in reply to a member of the council, who remarked that "Government would never allow a poll-tax here;" for he stated emphatically that "that was the aim of all the despatches of late!" It would, therefore, seem that the measure for coercing the immigrants must be regarded as preliminary to another and larger measure for coercing the native labourers. The resolutions, after having undergone a short discussion, during which they were rendered more stringent, were finally adopted in the following form:—

1. "That every immigrant introduced at the expense or under the direction of the Imperial Government or of the colony shall be bound to some particular estate as a contract servant, for a term not less than five years, nor determinable in any case before the age of twenty-one.
2. "That the allocation of such servants shall be left to the discretion of the governor.
3. "That the sum of £5 be paid by the owner of the estate for each contract servant, above the age of eighteen years, bound to the estate; such sum to be paid by five annual instalments of £1 each; whether such servant be introduced at the expense or under the direction of the Imperial Government or of the colony.
4. "That such contract servants shall be subject to the inspection of paid public inspectors, to be appointed and removable by the governor.
5. "That in case of any change of ownership of the estate, or for other cause, it shall be competent to the governor to determine any such contract, and to bind the servant to some other estate for the residue of the term.
6. "That every such contract servant shall be entitled, at the expense of the proprietor of the estate on which he is located, to medical attendance, and to food, clothing, and wages; to be so adjusted that, after the first year, the allowance of food, &c. shall cease, and the contract servant be paid by wages.
7. "That any such contract servant shall be bound to labour from sunrise to sunset, with the exception of hours for meals.
8. "That every wilful neglect of work or disobedience of orders shall be punishable, on the adjudication of a magistrate, by imprisonment with hard labour, which term of imprisonment shall be made good by the contract servant to his master by a proportionate extension of his term of service.

9. "That no contract servant shall be allowed to go off the estate, without a pass or licence from the person in charge of the estate.

10. "That a portion of time, exclusive of the Sunday, shall be set apart for attendance at village-schools, to be provided at the expense of each ward.

11. "That the completion of his contract of service shall entitle the servant to a free grant of a village allotment, in localities to be selected by the governor for villages."

Such, my lord, is to be the basis of future laws affecting immigrant labourers from any part of the world, who may have the misfortune of being introduced into Trinidad, unless the resolutions shall be peremptorily disallowed.

The first objection which strikes the Committee, in relation to these resolutions, is, that they completely negative the common-law rights of the immigrants, who may be induced to resort to the British colonies as labourers. The fact of their being introduced at the public expense, for the service of particular interests—in itself an act of gross injustice to the community at large—is to deprive them of personal liberty. They can make no contracts; they cannot choose their employments; even the poor privilege of selecting with whom, or in what part of the colony, they shall labour, is taken from them; the disposal of them, as so many human cattle, is placed in the hands of the governor for the time being. It is within his discretion to allocate them for a period of five years, or more, where and how he may please, and, in the event of a change of ownership in the estate on which they are placed, or other cause, it is within his power to terminate the contract, and to bind the immigrant to some other estate for the residue of the term. Your lordship will perceive that the *minimum* period during which adult immigrants are placed completely at the control of the governor is five years—"not less than five years"—so that, if it please him to extend it to seven, or ten or twenty years, or for life itself, he can do it, inasmuch as no *maximum* period is fixed beyond which his power cannot extend. So flagrant a violation of human rights and of constitutional law has not occurred since the British colonies were subjected to the system of slavery. The plea set up for this most extraordinary proceeding is, that freedom produced an "entire disorganisation of labour in the colonies;" that this is an attempt to reorganise it; and that "his Excellency the Governor" wills it. With some slight variations, which, practically, amount to nothing, it is but a renewal of the former Slave Code of Trinidad, and is designed to operate in the same way; and against it, therefore, the Committee earnestly and solemnly protest.

The second objection which presents itself to their notice is, that the immigrants will have no power over their own time: they are "bound to labour from sunrise to sunset, with the exception of hours for meals." The comment of the Attorney-General upon this is, "that the obligation to labour shall be measured by the day, and not by the task, so that he (the planter) may get rid of the present fatal practice, which assumes that the labour of the day is not equal to the day." The design of this is obvious: the immigrant is to be tasked to the utmost point of endurance, for the benefit of his master; he is to be tasked at all seasons, in all weathers, whether under the burning sun of noon-day, or the heavy rains which periodically deluge the tropics; the measure of his toil is to be fixed, not by his capacity—for how can that be ascertained?—but by the arbitrary will of his master; for the Attorney-General says, "that all idleness and neglect of work shall be punishable by the determination of the contractor!"

Here the Committee would remind your lordship that, under the Slave Code, the planter could not legally exact more than nine hours' labour *per diem* from his slaves, including the time in going to and returning from their labour; but, under the proposed "organisation of labour," it is required that the "contract servant shall be bound to labour from sunrise to sunset, with the exception of hours for meals," which are not specified. Under this arrangement, the immigrant can be compelled to work from ten to eleven hours daily, from one end of the year to the other, excepting Sundays, besides the time taken up in walking to and from the place of labour, with his tools, to his place of shelter, which may occupy another hour or more. In the case of immigrants under adult age, who are to be held in bondage until they are twenty-one years old, this extraordinary strain on their physical powers would prove cruelly oppressive; and, both in the case of youths and adults, the Committee believe, would be found to involve a great waste of health and of life itself. They would also point out the fact to your lordship, that females are not exempted from the operation of

this coercive scheme; but, in common with men, are to be subject to its rigorous exactions. Decency, respect for female character, the formation of domestic habits, are all involved in their exemption from field labour, except such as they may voluntarily be induced to perform; but there is no end to the demands of the planters. In their estimation, human beings are to be regarded as mere implements of husbandry, whose only use is to swell their incomes, and increase their power.

The Committee have not forgotten the atrocious cruelties and oppressions perpetrated, under the old Slave Code, on weak, infirm, and sick slaves, and the difficulty of the Government in finding either a check or a remedy for the evil. The slave protectors were found either venal, inefficient, or powerless to correct the evils they were appointed to cure; and such will be the case with the "public inspectors to be appointed and removable by the governor," under the new Code. The Committee cannot but regard with the most serious alarm the revival, under new names and forms, of a system of slavery which they had hoped had for ever passed away in every part of the British dominions.

The third objection which the Committee offer to the resolutions has reference to the mode in which the immigrants are to be remunerated for their labour. In this matter they are to be treated as slaves. "Medical attendance, food, clothing, and wages," are "to be so adjusted that, after the first year, the allowance of food shall cease, and the contract servant be paid by wages." This may mean anything—an adequate or an inadequate quantity of food and clothing—and the wages may, and undoubtedly will, be fixed at the *minimum* rate for the *maximum* amount of work, to be forced out of the immigrant. Supposing the native labourers are left free, which it is probable they will not be, the wages paid them for certain quantities of work will not be allowed the immigrants; unless, indeed, the number introduced be so large as to make labour a drug in the market. The Committee foresee, in this arbitrary mode of dealing with the question of remuneration, that the greatest injustice will be inflicted on the labourers, and that the whole affair, when taken in connection with the ninth resolution, will degenerate into "the truck system," in its worst and most oppressive forms. But under no circumstances ought so great an evil to be tolerated. In all cases, the master and servant should be allowed to adjust the question of wages, without the intermeddling of any third party whatever.

The fourth objection which the Committee submit to your lordship is the enormous powers of coercion which these resolutions give the local magistracy. "Every wilful neglect of work or disobedience of orders shall be punishable on the adjudication of a magistrate,"—a single magistrate!—"by imprisonment," the time not stated, "with hard labour;" and "the term of imprisonment," whatever it may be, "shall be made good by the contract servant to his master, by a proportionate extension of his term of service." Interpreted by planter-justices, for they have now concurrent jurisdiction with, if they have not completely superseded, the stipendiary magistrates, all the evils of the slave-system will be revived, without some of its correctives, for the object of this power to punish is not to repress crime, but to compel labour and enforce obedience to orders: the treadmill or the penal gang is to be substituted for the whip, and the common gaol for the Estates' Hot-house, or cell; that is all the difference, except that the loss of time taken up in the punishment of the immigrant is to be made good to the master at the end of the term of contract, whereas in the case of the slave it was lost to him. Supposing such a scheme of involuntary servitude as these resolutions create, involved no wrong to the labourers, its administration should be placed, at all events, in hands above all temptation, and all suspicion; but these resolutions not only create a system of bondage utterly at variance with the claims of justice and equity, but confide the power for giving it effect to men whose interests and whose habits incapacitate them for the fair and honourable discharge of their duties. In effect, the masters of the immigrants, or what is worse still, the agents of such masters, who compose the great body of the local magistracy, are to be judges as well as masters, and any one of them, ignorant and prejudiced though he may be, is armed with extraordinary powers for executing his will, however capricious or oppressive. It may not be improper to remark, that the whole of the unofficial section of the Council in Trinidad are planters: that these all hailed the new scheme of coercion with unbounded satisfaction; and, so far as can be ascertained, only two of the official section of the Council interposed objections—

the Treasurer and the Chief Justice. The former of these functionaries, on the first of the resolutions being read, is reported to have said, that "he did not think that the passage of the immigrant being paid, should subject him to laws different to those imposed on the rest of the community;" and the Chief Justice observed, in relation to vagrancy, that "In England, if a man was found idling about, out of his parish, the authorities could only send him back to his own parish again;" in fact, that he must commit some overt act as a vagrant before he could be punished as such; but under the new régime it is proposed to make a man a vagrant if he be found off the estate to which he has been "allocated" by the governor; and the power to enforce the law is to be in the hands of planter-justices!

Finally, the Committee strenuously object to the proposition to confine the immigrant to the estate on which he is placed. The resolution referring to this point is as follows:—"That no contract servant shall be allowed to go off the estate, without a pass or licence from the person in charge of the estate." In other words, he is to be kept, at the will of this person, a close prisoner on the estate, for a long period of years; for unless he give him a pass, he dare not quit it for any purpose, however innocent and lawful in itself. Even in his own time he is not master of himself and his actions. The right of locomotion, except in so far as it serves the purposes or meets the approbation of his master, is denied him. So absolute is this rule, that he cannot repair to a magistrate for the redress of injuries; nor to market for the supply of his wants; nor to a neighbouring estate, for social intercourse with friends; nor to a place of religious worship on the Sabbath, for spiritual instruction and consolation. The Committee feel persuaded that this outrageous attack on the personal liberty of the immigrants will not be endured, either by the enlightened portion of the inhabitants of the colony, or by the people of England. In point of fact, during the whole period of contract, the right to himself, to his liberty, to locomotion, except within the limits of the property to which he is allocated, is completely annihilated! The selfish and servile doctrines by which it is attempted to uphold this unnatural state of things is, in the opinion of the Committee, unworthy of any functionary holding office under the Crown; and can only have resulted from a long residence in a slave colony, and long contact with the hateful system of slavery. The Committee trust that your lordship will repudiate such doctrines, and refuse your sanction to the resolutions which are their echo.

The immigrants introduced into Trinidad are to be delivered over to the planters of Trinidad, at the discretion of the governor, on their undertaking to pay £5 per head for them, to be paid into the colonial treasury by yearly instalments. This done, their power over them will be complete for such period of time, in no case less than five years, as may be determined upon by the governor. The only protection afforded the immigrants by the resolutions is to be found in the appointment of inspectors; and, from past experience, the Committee are persuaded that such an appointment will prove only a mockery and a delusion. In every part of the island, except the townships, these officers will be dependent on the hospitalities of the planters, both for themselves, their horses, and their servants; and, however desirous they may be of performing their duty, they will find it impossible to do so. In their quality of inspectors they will not be able, on the spot, to redress any injuries the immigrants may have suffered, they can only report them; the power of administering the law will be in the hands of the masters; and no measures, however stringent, no precautions, however wise, will prevent the system from becoming an engine of tyranny to the helpless people subject to its control.

The proposition, "that a portion of time, exclusive of the Sunday, shall be set apart for attendance at village-schools, to be provided at the expense of each ward," can deceive no one. What time, it may be asked, can be appropriated to instruction during the working days, when they are to be in the field at day-break, and only leave it at sunset? Is it likely that people worn out with fatigue, and requiring rest and refreshment, will attend school unless they are positively compelled, on their return from work, to do so? In the first series of resolutions, a part of Saturday, as well as Sunday, was to be devoted to instruction; but mark the alteration which has been made in this respect: Now it is "a portion of time," exclusive of Sunday. It does not say what portions of time shall be taken between the hours of sunrise and sunset, on any given day of the week; it does not specify how

large or how small a portion of time shall be given; it leaves the question open to be decided in the interest of the master and not of the immigrant; in fact, it is but a repetition of the old colonial practice in this respect, and carries with it its own condemnation.

In reference to the "village lots," which it is proposed to give to the immigrants on the completion of their contracts, the Committee venture to say, that its object is in keeping with that of the resolutions—namely, to secure labour to the estates after the contracts shall have expired: the lots will comprise very small plots of land, in such places as the governor may select, which will but just afford sufficient space for the erection of a cottage at the immigrant's expense, without giving him the advantage of land for cultivation; and, instead of being of any real service to him, will only serve to deepen his dissatisfaction, both with respect to his servile condition and his future prospects.

The Committee cannot conclude their general remarks on the Trinidad resolutions without, by way of contrast, referring to the orders in Council, of September, 1838, on the subject of contracts for labour and vagrancy. These important modifications of the existing colonial laws were then deemed of imperative necessity. In reference to contracts for labour, the order in Council enacted:—

"Section 1. No contract of service shall be of any force or effect within any of the colonies aforesaid, unless the same shall be made within the limits and upon the land of the colony in which the same is to be performed.

"2. No contract of service shall be in force within any of the said colonies for more than four weeks from the date thereof, unless the same shall be reduced into writing, with all the formalities subsequently mentioned.

"3. No written contract of service shall be in force within any of the said colonies, unless it shall be signed with the name, or in case of illiterate persons, with the mark of each of the contracting parties, in the presence of a stipendiary magistrate, nor unless such stipendiary magistrate shall subscribe the written contract in attestation of the fact that it was entered into by the parties voluntarily, and with a clear understanding of its meaning and effect.

"4. No such written contract for service shall be valid for more than one year from its date.

"5. Every such written contract shall expire at the close of the stipulated time of service, without any notice on either side for that purpose.

"6. Every such written contract shall specify, as accurately as may be, the general nature of the employment in which the servant is to be engaged."

In relation to the apprenticeship of children, the order in Council provided that—"No child may be apprenticed as a labourer in husbandry, or in the manufacture of colonial produce;" but that the parents or guardians of children above ten or under sixteen years of age, may apprentice them for a period, not exceeding five years, "to any trade in the practice of which any peculiar art or skill is requisite."

In the enforcement of all contracts of labour, the stipendiary magistrates had exclusive and summary jurisdiction, and were armed with powers to give them full effect.

In reference to vagrancy, Lord Glenelg, in a despatch which accompanied the orders in Council, dated Sept. 7th, 1838, thus observed:—"The vagueness of this term, (vagrancy,) and the ambiguity of the meaning which, to a certain degree, is inherent in it, has given rise to some laws on this topic of a very general character. If by the word vagrancy be understood the moving from place to place of persons in search of labour, or actuated by any other useful or blameless motive, the prevention of it would be entirely foreign to the views of her Majesty's Government. But the word, when designating an offence, must be taken in a far more restricted and technical sense. It is the term in common use, in our own law, to describe persons who are living in a state of vicious and unnecessary idleness, without any honest means of subsistence, and who therefore become burdensome to society as paupers, or dangerous to the public peace as delinquents. Amongst such persons are numbered those who outrage public decency by their demeanour, those who seek their living by dishonest arts, and practising on vulgar superstitions, and those who are found in circumstances indicating the intention to commit depredations on property. If the terms, vagrant, or rogue and vagrant, do not very amply describe such persons, there is perhaps no more appropriate expression to be discovered. It is, however, only against such

offenders that the second of the orders in Council which I enclose is pointed."

Seven years after the enactment of these orders in Council, and when their true character had been developed, the governor of British Guiana, in a despatch dated October 2nd, 1845, urged his arguments against certain modifications of them, proposed by Lord Stanley, in the following terms:—"I am bound to confess that, in my judgment, the orders in Council of the 7th of September, 1838, have fully answered every purpose for which they were framed; that in the arrangement of the chapters to distinct branches of the subject, in perspicuity of language, in comprehensive brevity of definition and enumeration of offences, they form the most simple, perfect, impartial, and easily understood manual of legislation, on the particular subject to which they relate, that was ever composed for the guidance of masters and servants in this part of the world." Two years previously to this, 29th of August, 1843, his Excellency, in combating the removal of the special justices, said:—"It appears to me that the main object of the proposers of these amendments to the orders in Council of 1838, is to place the whole authority of the stipendiary magistrates in the hands of the local justices. I affirm that there is nothing in the present condition of the mutual relations of employers and employed to require such a transfer, or additional arbitrary enactments. * * * I do not consider that a justice of the peace, or his neighbouring colleague, being planters, should adjudicate disputes relating to work or wages, nor as to vagrancy, perhaps the quiet visit of a villager to his neighbour. I can require, from the stipendiary magistrates and sheriffs, returns of all commitments, minutes of evidence and reports, besides those sent in periodically. It would be vain to seek such at the hands of the local justices."

The Committee trust that your lordship, on a careful review of the Trinidad resolutions, will not give them your approbation, or allow them, or indeed any part of them, to be embodied in any law for the government of the immigrant labourers. But should it unhappily prove otherwise,—should these resolutions become law,—the Committee will feel themselves called upon to use every means in their power, both at home and in the colonies, not only to arouse public attention to their unjust and oppressive character, but to secure their total repeal.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

(On behalf of the Committee,)

Your lordship's obedient servant,

JOHN SCOBLE, Secretary.

Office of the British and Foreign
Anti-Slavery Society,
27, New Broad-street,
London, Jan. 23, 1849.

USURPATION OF THE SLAVE POWER OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE APPOINTMENT AND CONTROL OF THE OFFICERS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

(Continued from page 4.)

2. LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

The Legislative department is made up of a Senate and House of Representatives, and is denominated Congress. Each State is allowed two senators. Delaware, the smallest State of the Union, with her one representative, has as much political power in this department of the Government as New York, with her thirty-four representatives. By this disproportion of power, the slaveholders are enabled to control the legislative department, or check any anti-slavery action that might originate in the other House. There are now sixty senators, representing thirty States; of which the South has thirty—one half; whereas, if represented in proportion to population, she would have only twenty. Out of the original thirteen States which entered into the Union, only six are now slave States. So that the slaveholders have gained, in this immense political power through the Senate, nine States, or eighteen votes, by the acquisition of and the extension of slavery to free territory. It is the same principle and the same acquisition of power which they are striving to bring into the ascendancy in the New Mexican territory.

The acquisition of the power, and the extent of it, will be seen in the following table:—

TABLE 1.—SENATORIAL REPRESENTATIVES.

From	To	From	To
1789 admis. of Vermt.....	1791	1791 admis. of Ky.....	1792
1796 " Ohio	1803	1792 " Tenn.....	1796
1812 " Indiana.....	1815	1803 " Louis.....	1812
1817 " Illinois.....	1818	1815 " Miss.....	1817
1819 " Maine.....	1820	1818 " Ala.....	1818
1836 " Mich.....	1837	1820 " Mo.....	1821
1845 " Iowa.....	1845	1821 " Arkan.....	1836
1846 " Wis.....	1848	1837 " Florida.....	1845
		1845 " Texas.....	1845

From the foregoing it will be seen that slavery, claiming that it has an equal share with freedom to the earth which God has made for the dwelling-place of man, has managed to possess itself of the free territory, and stand on an equal footing in the representation of States. The free States start with four majority, and lead the slave States until the admission of Arkansas, when the slave power in the States is numerically ahead, either from two to four, or on even balance. She has accomplished this by laying her iron grasp upon free territory, as she now seeks to do upon territory beyond the Rocky Mountains. Should she succeed in this attempt, then will that territory, fairest on the face of the earth, be eternally consigned to chains and slavery, and her dominion for ever triumphant over the free States.

PRESIDENTS OF THE SENATE PRO TEM.

The President pro-tempore is elected to fill the place of the Vice-president, on the contingency of his death, or being called to the Executive Chair, or other cause which may remove him from his station as the presiding officer of the Senate. The President pro tem. may become President of the United States, on the death of the President and the Vice-president.

TABLE 2.—PRESIDENTS PRO TEM. OF THE SENATE.

From	To	From	To
John Langdon, N.H....	1789 1791	Rich. H. Lee, Va.....	1791 1792
John Langdon, N.H....	1792 1793	Ralph Izard, S.C.....	1793 1794
S. Livermore, N.H....	1795 1796	Henry Tazewell, Va. ..	1794 1795
Wm. Bringham, Pa. ..	1796 1797	Abm. Baldwin, Ga. ..	1801 1802
Wm. Bradford, R.J. ..	1797 1798	John Brown, Ky.	1803 1804
J. Sedgwick, Mass. ..	1797 1798	Jesse Franklin, N.C....	1803 1804
James Ross, Pa.....	1798 1799	Josh. Anderson, Tenn.	1804 1805
S. Livermore, N.H. ..	1799 1800	Samuel Smith, Md. ..	1805 1807
James Hillhouse, Ct....	1800 1801	John Melledge, Ga. ..	1808 1809
S. R. Bradley, Vt.....	1802 1803	John Gaillard, S.C....	1810 1811
S. R. Bradley, Vt.....	1807 1808	John Pope, Ky.....	1810 1811
Andrew Gregg, Pa....	1809 1810	John Gaillard, S.C....	1813 1818
W. H. Crawford, Ga....	1811 1813	James Barbour, Va. ..	1818 1820
Wm. R. King, Ala. ..	1835 1841	John Gaillard, S.C....	1820 1825
S. L. Southward, N.J.	1841 1843	Nathan Macon, N.C....	1825 1828
W. P. Magnum, N.C.	1843 1845	Samuel Smith, Md. ..	1828 1831
		L. W. Tazewell, Va. ..	1831 1832
		Hugh L. White, Tenn.	1832 1833
		Geo. Poindexter, Miss.	1833 1834
		John Tyler, Va.....	1834 1835
		David R. Atchison, Mo.	1845 1847
		David R. Atchison, Mo.	1847 1849

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The lower House of Congress is made up of representatives directly from the people, elected by them, and on a ratio of population. The Constitution, which fixes the terms of representation, provides that three-fifths of the slaves, which are reckoned only as property at the South, as the North counts its horses and cattle, shall be counted as persons. Thus, while a population of 70,000 northern freemen, with 14,000 voters, owning 280,000 dollars of property in cattle and horses, can send only one representative to Congress, a congressional district in the slave States, with 28,800 free population, casting 5,600 votes, and owning 280,000 dollars of property in 70,000 slaves, can also be represented by one representative; and thus are the 5,600 voters of the slave States made as good, and are permitted to wield as much political power, as the 14,000 free northern freemen. "This representation," says the Hon. John Quincy Adams, "is a grant of power, enormous, preponderating power to the owners of slaves,—not a representation of the slaves, but of their deadliest enemies,—instead of being a representation of persons, it is a representation of property, of a peculiar, odious description of property,—utterly repugnant to the vital principle of popular representation—to the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence—to the letter and spirit of the Constitution—to the liberties of the whole people of the free States. It established a privileged order of feudal lords in disguise; it linked together in one common interest hostile to that of the whole community, and armed them with a controlling, overruling power over the legislative councils and executive authority of the Union." So spoke an ex-president of the United States. This slave repre-

entation is the back-bone of the slave power—by it they not only rule their slaves, but rule us.

This representation of property is a power given to oppress and crush the very beings which are the source of its power. The North is allowed no representation of property—but in the apportionment of 1820, there were twenty; in 1830, twenty-five; in 1840, twenty representatives, based wholly upon this "odious description of property." We have not room to exhibit in these tables the representative appointment for each decade, so we give only that of 1840, the one now in force, and by which we must expect to have the slavery extension question of 1848 settled for ever.

Besides the direct representation of property, other advantages have been taken to increase the power of the South and curtail that of the North. Laboured and cool calculations seem to have been made to select that number as the ratio, which would add the most to the slave representation. The ratio, under the census of 1830, was 47,700, and no representation for fractions. This gave 69,768 as the aggregate of unrepresented fractions at the North over those of the South. By the law of 1842, apportioning the representation under the census of 1840, the number of 70,680, after much calculating and manœuvring, was selected, allowing a representation for a fraction that should exceed half a ratio.

As a general rule it is certainly just that the ratio should be adopted which will leave the smallest amount of unrepresented fractions. This rule was totally disregarded in the selection of the ratio of 1843, and, in its place, a purely sectional one was adopted.

The ratio of 70,000 would naturally suggest itself as the simplest, and it is evident that the odd ratio, 70,680, could not have been selected, unless from some design; and this design must have been to secure such a representation on the whole, as to favour a particular interest, at the expense of this sound principle. But the former could not have been the object; for the unrepresented population, under the ratio of 70,680, is nearly 50,000 greater than under that of 70,000, and the disproportion between the two sections of the Union is inordinate; the unrepresented population of the free States amounting to 181,161; of the slave States, 85,796; nearly 100,000 less!

The conclusion is irresistible, that this particular ratio was selected with the express view to aggrandize or favour a particular interest. Every unprejudiced mind will see that this interest was slavery—the slaveholders, by the aid of some Yankee contrivance, played an admirably ingenious game. And, by this game, the North are deprived of four representatives, while the South gains none.

The ratio of 70,000, if adopted, would not only have left the unrepresented population at 48,000 less than the ratio 70,680, but it would have added four representatives to the non-slaveholding, and taken away not one representative from the slaveholding States! New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Ohio, instead of having unrepresented fractions of 25,799, 27,687, 20,899, and 35,185 respectively, would have had fractions large enough to entitle them each to an additional representative. No other State would have lost a single representative, as the representation from the slaveholding States would have been untouched; and, as the total amount of unrepresented population would have been less under this ratio of 70,000, its rejection, and the adoption of the 70,680 ratio, was a gross violation of democratic principle, and a positive act of injustice to Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, instigated by the same spirit which is endeavouring to exclude free labour from the rich free territory acquired by Mexico.

SPEAKERS OF THE HOUSE.

The Speaker has the appointment of standing Committees of the House. It is regarded as the most influential office in the legislative department, and is strongly contended for by the leading parties in Congress. The election of the Speaker settles the character of the proceedings of the session. The machinery of Congressional doings depends on the construction of its committees. No anti-slavery man has been permitted to hold this office, and slaveholders usually put some of their own members into the Speaker's chair. Winthrop, the present, was elected Speaker by a balance of Southern democratic votes, as the most reliable man for the South. His appointment of the Committee on the District of Columbia killed all action for the abolition of slavery there for this Congress, though some members suppose that measures might have been carried in this Congress.

TABLE 1—SPEAKERS OF THE HOUSE.

CONG.	No.	From	To	CONG.	No.	From	To
1.	3.	1789	1791	F. A. Muhlenburg	7.	2.	1801 1803
2.	2.	1791	1793	J. Trumbull, Ct.	8.	2.	1803 1805
3.	2.	1793	1795	F. A. Muhlenburg	9.	2.	1805 1807
4.	2.	1795	1797	J. Dayton, N.J.	12.	2.	1811 1813
5.	3.	1797	1799	J. Dayton, N.J.	13.	1.	1813 1813
6.	2.	1799	1801	T. Sedgwick, Ma	13.	2.	1813 1815
10.	2.	1807	1809	J. B. Varnum, Mass.	14.	2.	1815 1817
11.	3.	1809	1811	J. B. Varnum, Mass.	15.	2.	1817 1819
16.	2.	1820	1821	J. W. Taylor, N.Y.	16.	1.	1819 1820
19.	2.	1825	1827	J. W. Taylor, N.Y.	17.	2.	1821 1823
29.	2.	1845	1847	J. W. Davis, Ind.	18.	2.	1823 1825
30.	2.	1847	1849	Rbt. Winthrop, Mass.	20.	2.	1827 1829
					21.	2.	1829 1831
					22.	2.	1831 1833
					23.	1.	1833 1834
					23.	2.	1834 1835
					24.	2.	1835 1837
					25.	3.	1837 1839
					26.	2.	1839 1841
					27.	3.	1841 1843
					28.	2.	1843 1845

3. JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

The legislative doings of Congress, and the acts of the Executive, are all liable to be passed upon and settled by the Judicial Department, as the end of the law. How important that slavery have proper legal sanctions! Its own servants must fill these high seats.

JUDGES OF THE SUPREME COURT.

	From	To		From	To
John Jay	N.Y.	1789 1796	John Marshall	Va.	1801 1836
William Cushing	Mass.	1796 1796	Roger B. Taney	Md.	1838 1849
Oliver Ellsworth	Ct.	1796 1801			

ASSOCIATE JUSTICES.

	Appointed		Appointed
William Cushing	Mass. 1789	John Rutledge	S.C. 1789
James Wilson	Pa. 1789	Robert H. Harrison	Md. 1789
William Patterson	N.J. 1793	John Blair	Virg. 1789
Brockholst Livingston	N.Y. 1807	James Iredell	N.C. 1790
Levi Lincoln	Mass. 1811	Thomas Johnson	Md. 1791
Joseph Story	Mass. 1811	Samuel Chase	Md. 1796
Smith Thompson	N.Y. 1823	Bushrod Washington	Va. 1798
John McLean	Ohio 1829	William Johnson	S.C. 1804
Henry Balwin	Pa. 1830	Thomas Todd	Va. 1807
Samuel Wilson	N.Y. 1845	Gabriel Duval	Md. 1811
Levi Woodbury	N.H. 1846	Robert Trimble	Ky. 1826
Robert C. Greier	Pa. 1846	James H. Wayne	Georg. 1835
		Philip P. Barbour	Va. 1836
		John Catron	Tenn. 1837
		John M. Kirley	Ala. 1837
		Peter V. Daniel	Va. 1841

The Court, as now constituted, with a slaveholding Chief Justice, is composed of four men from the North, three of them incurably pro-slavery, and five from the South.

MINISTERS TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

The appointments in the following catalogue embrace a full list of Ministers, Plenipotentiary and Extraordinary, to the European courts, to Mexico, and South America, together with the Charge d'Affaires.

Great Britain.		Belgium.	
South.	North.	South.	North.
9	10	4	0
France.		Two Sicilies.	
15	8	3	1
Spain.		Sardinia.	
11	7	3	0
Netherlands.		Turkey.	
6	7	2	0
Portugal.		Guatemala.	
6	4	2	3
Prussia.		Mexico.	
2	2	7	3
Austria.		Republic Columbia.	
2	1	3	1
Russia.		Brazil.	
6	6	2	4
Sweden.		Seven other Places of minor importance.	
3	4		
Denmark.			
0	3	16	15

South 102; North 79 ministers.

CLERKS, &c.—In all the departments as clerks, and in the army and navy as under-officers, there are thousands of men, drawing salaries from two or three hundred, to as many thousand dollars, a large majority of whom are selected from the slave States.

TERRITORIES.—So also the offices of Governor of the territories, and other offices appointed by the Presidents, have usually been from the South.

In these innumerable ways has the slave power managed to filch out of the free-labour of the North many millions of dollars annually, to sustain the spendthrift institution of slavery, and its sinking fortunes.

In another article, similar to this in plan, we design to show more fully the influence of the slave power on the *money power* of the country—how it has depressed the business and pecuniary affairs, and curbed the spirit of enterprise—from which, with that already presented, it will be perceived how slavery has ruled us, and at what a ruinous cost.

SLAVERY AMONG THE CHEROKEES AND CHOCTAWS.

The following report of Mr. Trist, taken from the proceedings of the American Board for Foreign Missions, will show the unfortunate position they sustain in reference to slavery. We deeply regret that these missionaries do not find themselves in a situation to preach a better Gospel to the poor Choctaws and Cherokees:—

MR. TRIST'S REPORT ON SLAVERY.

1. The origin of slavery among the Cherokees and Choctaws, concluding that it was probably introduced by whites not less than one hundred years ago.

2. ITS CHARACTER.—It partakes of the general features of slavery among the whites, though in a somewhat milder form.

3. THE NUMBER OF SLAVES.—No census has ever been taken, but it is estimated that among the Cherokees there are about 1,500 slaves, and among the Choctaws about 2,000, of whom the Chickasaws have the greater proportion. The ratio of slaves to the population, among the Cherokees, is about one to ten; among the Chickasaws, one to six; among the Choctaws, one to ten or twelve. There is a natural increase going on, but it is but little affected by the introduction of slaves from the adjoining white nations.

4. THE TREATMENT OF SLAVES.—Generally more lenient than among the whites. Slaves are more nearly on an equality with the masters—though, in some instances, where slaves are held by humane masters, their condition is better among the whites.

5. LAWS RELATING TO SLAVERY.—The legislation of the Cherokees is milder than that of most slaveholding communities—the only restriction on record is that, in case of emancipation, the master shall be responsible for the future conduct of the slave, or else he may be expelled from the nation. There is, however, a statute, forbidding slaves or free negroes from learning to read or write, in a penalty of from 100 to 500 dollars. Another, also, forbidding slaves or free negroes from holding any property.

The legislation of the Choctaws has been less favourable to the slave. In 1836, a truculent law was enacted against all who should favour the principles and notions of the most fatal and destructive doctrines of abolitionism; also forbidding the instruction of slaves how to read or write, or sing in schools or meeting-houses, without the consent of their owners; and another forbidding the possession of property or arms. In 1840, all free negroes, not of Indian blood, were expelled from the nation, and forbidden the harbouring or hiring of any runaway slave from the States. In 1836, a still more stringent prohibitory law was passed, forbidding the passage of any negro into the Indian territory for any purpose, whether with the consent of his master or not. In 1846, also, there was a law passed forbidding the emancipation of slaves without the consent of the General Council.

6. EFFECTS OF SLAVERY.—It is decidedly prejudicial in a great variety of ways. Among the Cherokees, slave-labour is generally, if not universally, unprofitable. In the Choctaw nation it is more profitable. But in both it prevents that self-relying industry and enterprise which are so desirable in such a community. The moral effects of slavery are bad there, as elsewhere—though they are more apparent among the Choctaws than among the Cherokees. Two-thirds of the whiskey brought into the Choctaw nation is introduced by slaves. The influence of slavery on the mission is bad. The morals of the Indians are injured by it; selfishness,

which is the grand obstacle to the reception of the truth, is augmented, and the missionaries find themselves not a little straitened when they come in contact with it; and hence the Gospel is not brought to bear with its full power upon all those evils which are peculiar to such a state of society.

7. INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY ON SLAVERY.—(1) What effect has the Gospel exerted upon the condition of the slaves? And (2) What upon their number?

The condition of slaves has been improved by the introduction of Christianity—as its doctrines have obtained a stronger hold on the people, the feelings and conduct of masters have become more and more humane. A large number of slaves have also been savingly benefited by it. But as to its effects in extinguishing slavery, as much cannot be said. As the Indians have become civilized, the wants and desires to which slavery could minister have increased; and in the absence of teaching, which would lead to its discontinuance, slavery has been gaining ground, and acquiring a more stable existence.

8. PROSPECTIVE TERMINATION OF SLAVERY.—The mass of the people have no direct interest in slavery; but they have given but little attention to the subject, and, consequently, feel no strong desire for its extinction. But the predominant influence in both nations is in the hands of slaveholders. The intelligence and enterprise which enable them to acquire this species of property also qualify them for influence in public affairs; and most of this class would resist to the utmost any proposal tending to the abolition of slavery.

The influence of the whites adjacent to them would also be adverse to any movement of the kind. The Indian slaveholders are generally of mixed blood, and connected by many ties to the whites. The white slaveholders also feel an identity of interest with them on this subject, and it is not to be supposed that they would consent to emancipation. The nations will probably follow and not precede the surrounding communities, in any scheme which contemplates the extinction of slavery.

9. POLICY OF MISSIONS.—On this subject the report first gives an historical sketch of missionary efforts among the Indians, noticing particularly the circumstances bearing on the subject of slavery. The missionaries appear to be in peculiarly delicate and responsible circumstances. Their first patrons and friends were slaveholders. They found the Indian in the midst of slaveholding nations. The sinfulness of slavery had not then begun to be felt. For these and other reasons nothing was more natural than that the missions should have become implicated with slavery.

Since they have been there they have preached the Gospel, whose general influence is adverse to slavery. They have not exerted any direct influence, either in public or private, on the subject. They had, as they supposed, a sufficient warrant for such a course in the New Testament; they found nothing in the Bible said in direct condemnation of slavery as a system; neither was its sinfulness denounced, nor its continuance prohibited. But they did find that the mutual obligations of masters and servants were repeatedly and freely discussed. "Here, then," they seemed to have argued, "is our course marked out for us. We must give instruction on the relative duties of the master and his slaves, just as the Bible has enjoined." This policy has been pursued till the present time. Some are understood not to be hostile to the continuance of the system—others are known to be unfriendly to it—but both parties have kept silence on the subject in their public ministrations.

In receiving slaveholders to the Church, the missionaries do not appear to have made any distinction between them and other persons. They have merely regarded the evidence which the candidate gave of being "a new creature," but did not consider the fact of his being a slaveholder as a barrier to his administration. Such is still the practice of these churches. In defence of this policy, the missionaries make their appeal to the Bible, as showing the only condition of Church membership. This, they say, is a change of heart, and when this is furnished, there is no law for excluding the candidate from the Church. They also aver that the adoption of any other course would have been fatal to the mission, and they are confident that if they ever were to determine to admit no slaveholders, their influence would be at an end.

10. NUMBER OF SLAVES AND SLAVEHOLDERS IN THE CHURCHES.—Mr. Trist found it difficult to obtain exact statistics on this subject, for several reasons; but the following table exhibits the result he confided in:—

CHEROKEE MISSION.			
Churches.	Whole No. memb.	Slaveholders.	Slaves.
Park Hill	36	4	3
Fairfield.	85	12	20
Dwight	50	5	—
Mount Zion	22	2	—
Honey Creek	44	1*	—
	237	24	23
* Living permanently out of the nation.			
CHOCKTAW MISSION.			
Pine Ridge	53	6*	25
Wheelock	238	7	17
Mountain Fork	113	4	6
Good Water	259	5	7
Mount Pleasant	36	—	—
Mayhew	36	1	3
Six Towns	60	7	13
Chickasaw	77	8	33
	872	38	104
* Four of these are whites.			

11. TREATMENT OF SLAVEHOLDERS IN THE CHURCH.—The churches have not pretended to discipline their members merely for holding slaves; but they acknowledge their obligation to secure, as far as possible, their compliance with all the injunctions of the New Testament addressed to masters. They discipline them for cruelties; they disallow the separation of husbands and wives—though not in all cases the separation of children from their parents. In early life this is never attempted, and at a later period of youth, it is often for the real good of the child; so that, except in cases of flagrant wrong and outrage, no notice is taken of the separation of parents and children. So of buying and selling; as it is possible that this is often done for benevolent purposes, or that it will result in no injury to the slave, it is not forbidden, and is never made an occasion of discipline, except where it violates the rules of Christian conduct—as where it is attended with circumstances of cruelty or hardship. Such is still the policy of the mission.

12. EMPLOYMENT OF SLAVE-LABOUR.—Both missions have found it difficult to obtain the requisite aid in their domestic and farming operations. As they conduct large schools, they require considerable labour; and, at the outset, the missionaries freely hired slave-labour. In 1825, the consent of the Prudential Committee to such a practice was freely given, with the only condition that it should be with the consent of the slave. Subsequently, some of the missionaries, disliking the appearance of it, thought it best to purchase slaves, with the understanding that they should be allowed, with their wages, to purchase their own freedom. Several slaves have been emancipated by this process. In 1836, the Prudential Committee forbade this practice, and declared that it was inexpedient for the missionaries to hire any slaves. But, at the instance of the missionaries, this rule was so modified as to leave it to the discretion of the missionaries. No action has since been taken by the Committee on the subject. The consequence was, that the practice of hiring slaves was resumed to some extent; and Mr. Trist found on his visit one slave hired, at his own request, at Dwight. This is the only one in the Cherokee mission.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SLAVERY.

PORTO RICO.

A gentleman who has lately resided in the Spanish islands of Porto Rico for some months, and who has had access to many estates, has communicated the following particulars of the barbarous treatment of the negroes in that island to Mr. Scoble, in a letter dated St. Thomas, December 21st, 1848. It was his intention to have settled in Porto Rico, but the atrocities inflicted on the slaves was so great as to compel him to leave.

“In Porto Rico, the slaves out of crop work from the earliest dawn of day to the last moment of night; but during the crop season, with very little interval of rest, they work both night and day, Sundays and feast days, with few exceptions, included. You may, therefore, average the daily labour of a slave at fourteen hours throughout the entire year, or five thousand one hundred and ten hours annually; which will cost his master, at the furthest, ten dollars, or something less than three cents a day, with the additional great advantage of a perfect command of that labour. In the British colonies, tasks out of crop are generally given. In the crop season, the labourer works for the most part only during daylight. We may, however, average the daily labour at seven hours in five days of the week, or eighteen hundred and twenty

hours a year; which, at the very low figure of fifteen cents per day, will cost the employer forty-one dollars per annum. In short, the slave-owner has annually five thousand one hundred and ten hours' labour per slave, with a perfect command of that labour, at a cost of ten dollars; and the British colonist, eighteen hundred and twenty hours' free labour at a cost of forty-one dollars. There are many persons, ignorant of such facts, who think that the English planter can compete with the slave-owner, and are too ready to publish their opinions. This conduct has the worst tendency, for the friends of the slave-owner are quick in availing themselves of these unguarded statements, to the great prejudice of the other party. * * * I have seen, in Ponce, a slave tied to a ladder by his master, and flogged at intervals from morning to night. In the hot, burning sun, throughout the day, did that poor slave lay bound, scorched and bleeding. The next day he died, and the wretch hoisted the Spanish ensign and boasted that he had sent a subject to the Devil. I have seen a negro flogged to death, and his carcase buried in a dung heap. I have seen a man compelled to flog his own wife, after which her master committed brutalities on her person too horrid to be mentioned. I have seen a runaway brought home in a state of starvation, tied to four sticks driven in the ground, and receive from two drivers, one on each side, 150 lashes with cart whips. Very little blood came from his wounds. The blood had flown to the heart to support life. Two days after the slave died, his back having become one mass of mortification. I was on an estate where, little earlier, a negro was thrown into the boiling trick. It was said that he had jumped in himself, but such was not the case. I also saw a man severely flogged, and afterwards looked up in a close dungeon, under a scorching sun. When taken out he was raving mad, and died shortly after. In the district of Humicas lives a man named Jose Marie Rios, who suffers his slaves to die from want, should they happen to be so sick that their cure would be attended with expense. When dead, he has them tied to a mule's tail and dragged to a pit, where they are thrown in like beasts. In fact, it would take volumes to describe the horrible atrocities which are committed on the unfortunate negroes. The slaves in Porto Rico can never effect their emancipation by force. In numbers, they are as one to ten, and a combination among them is out of the question, as they are locked up every night. If any person should doubt the exactness of the above statements, let him read the proclamation of the Conde de Reus, the late Governor of Porto Rico, lately issued, in which that despot places the life of the slave at the entire uncontrolled will of his master.

“And what are the philanthropists of Britain doing, with the knowledge of all this? Are they not pleased—delighted that they have got sugar so cheap? England's liberality has been highly applauded; but is she not pointed at by all as having spent twenty millions to liberate the slaves in her own colonies, and now encourages slavery in other nations?”

UNITED STATES.

The following, says the Boston *Reflector* and *Watchman*, has been communicated to one of the pastors of Boston, by a son residing in Illinois, and may be relied on as veritable:—“To illustrate the difficulty of getting a slave back into bondage, let me give you a specimen of the jurisprudence of our county, which occurred yesterday at our county seat (Woodstock.) Two white men appeared in town, having in custody two ‘gentlemen of colour,’ whom they had taken in Wisconsin as their property, escaped from Missouri. These were brought before a magistrate in Woodstock, and claimed as their slaves. The court decided that it had no jurisdiction in the case, as the negroes were illegally taken by plaintiffs out of the State, whereupon the prisoners were discharged. At the instance of the white man, the men of colour were then taken up for stealing two horses, when they left Missouri, from plaintiffs. Defendants acknowledged having stolen the horses, alleging that they were Indian horses, not belonging to plaintiffs. A long debate here arose between the learned counsel, whether, all being property, the negroes stole the horses, or the horses carried off, and consequently stole the negroes. The prisoners were again discharged, and went their way rejoicing in the blessings of liberty. But the end was not yet. A suit was immediately instituted against plaintiffs, on behalf of the people of the State, for kidnapping, and the Court held them to bail in the sum of \$500, which not being able to obtain, they were obliged to pay the amount, and then left. The horses, I understand, are to be tried to-morrow for stealing the negroes.”

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 1st, 1849.

THE SLAVE-TRADE AND ITS REMEDY.

The annexed circular of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society we earnestly commend to the attention of all our readers, and should be happy to learn that, in all places where the Secretary cannot extend his labours, the suggestions of the Committee are fully carried out. There can be little doubt that the *bona fide* demand, on the part of the British Government, for the liberation of all Africans from slavery who have been illicitly introduced into the Spanish colonies and Brazil, would extinguish the slave-trade, by destroying it at its very root. It will require, however, an energetic expression of public sentiment and feeling, which we trust will not be withheld, to secure this great triumph to the anti-slavery cause.

(CIRCULAR.)

Anti-slavery Office, 27, New Broad-street,
London, January 26th, 1849.

DEAR SIR,—The fearful increase of the foreign African slave-trade, and the unparalleled atrocities with which it is at present accompanied, induce the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society to address an earnest appeal to you, to assist them in getting up petitions in your town and neighbourhood, to promote, if it be possible, its suppression.

The failure of the cruising system to accomplish this great object is now so apparent, that the Committee conceive the most sceptical must be convinced that to it we must no longer trust, whatever may be our personal view of the principle which it involves, to realize it, but that we must turn to other and better means for its extinction. Believing that the plan suggested in the enclosed tract, entitled "The Slave-trade and its Remedy," if recommended by Parliament and adopted by Government, will effectually secure the object aimed at, the Committee respectfully but urgently press it on your best attention, and invite your cordial co-operation in giving it effect.

The Committee recommend this mode of action with the more confidence, inasmuch as it will be found to be perfectly consistent with good faith, the national honour, the stipulation of treaties, the laws of Brazil and Spain, and the highest interests of humanity and freedom, and to harmonize with one of the fundamental principles of the Society, viz., "That so long as slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings; that the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a *moral, religious, and pacific character*; and that no measures be resorted to by this Society, in the prosecution of these objects, but such as are in entire accordance with these principles."

The secretary of the Society has, during the last two months, been enabled to visit Rochester, Colchester, Ipswich, Woodbridge, Norwich, St. Ives, Cambridge, Saffron-Walden, Kingsbridge, Liskeard, Totness, Exeter, Bristol, &c.; and proposes, as far as time will permit, to extend his visits to other places. The Committee are happy to say that petitions, similar to the short one appended hereto, have been adopted at all these places, and will be presented to the House of Commons early in the next session. The Committee will be gratified to learn that you have been able to secure petitions from your town, either from the inhabitants generally, or from congregations in particular, or from both.

There is yet another way of helping this cause of humanity, and that is by letters to your representatives in Parliament, signed by as numerous a body of the electors as possible, urging upon them to give the prayer of the petition, as well as the subject generally, their best consideration and zealous support. Any number of the Memorial you may require for that purpose will be forwarded to you on application.

Trusting that the subject will claim your early attention, and that you will communicate the result,



I am, dear Sir,
(On behalf of the Committee,)

Yours respectfully,

J. SCOBLE, Secretary.

(PETITION.)

TO THE HONOURABLE THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

&c., &c., &c.

The petition of the inhabitants of, &c., &c.,

Sheweth,—That your petitioners have learned with deep regret that, notwithstanding the long continued and costly efforts of this country to effect the complete suppression of the foreign African slave-trade, it is still carried on to an enormous extent, and under circumstances of aggravated atrocity and horror.

That your petitioners attribute this fearful state of things to the bad faith of the Brazilian and Spanish Governments chiefly, who, in defiance of the solemn stipulations of their treaties with this country, and the laws of their respective States, suffer its continuance.

That with a view of terminating an evil which has so long desolated Africa, and disgraced and afflicted mankind,

Your petitioners entreat your honourable House, as the least thing that ought to be done under the circumstances of the case, to address her Majesty to the intent that instructions may be forthwith given to the principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to demand from the Spanish and Brazilian Governments the liberation from slavery of all Africans and their descendants who have been illicitly introduced into their respective colonies and territories; and in the event of their attempting to evade the demand, or to procrastinate its strict fulfilment, it be notified to them that measures will be taken to exclude their produce from the British markets until slavery itself shall be abolished by them.

The following is a copy of the petition intended to be presented to the House of Commons, on behalf of the Anti-slavery Committee.

(PETITION.)

TO THE HONOURABLE THE COMMONS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

The petition of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society,

Sheweth,—That your petitioners, having been long and earnestly occupied in promoting the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, are deeply afflicted to find on evidence, the accuracy of which cannot be disproved, that the foreign African slave-trade is still carried on by Brazil and Spain to an enormous extent, and with unparalleled atrocity and horror, notwithstanding the costly, zealous, and protracted efforts of this country to suppress it.

That your petitioners have learned that, upon a moderate calculation, upwards of 84,000 slaves were exported from Africa during the year 1847, and that, as reported by the Select Committee on the Slave-trade, appointed by your honourable House during the last session of Parliament, confirmed by the latest advices from the Coast of Africa, the slave-trade was, during the year 1848, prosecuted with unusual vigour and activity; that, without enumerating the fearful waste of life occasioned by this iniquitous traffic in Africa, it is computed that at least 25 per cent. of its victims perish during the middle passage, under circumstances too dreadful and revolting to be described; and that this awful mortality is greatly increased by the large amount who die after landing, before they can be prepared for the slave markets; and that, after sale, the survivors fall into a condition so abject and degraded as greatly to aggravate the original outrage and wrong inflicted on them.

That your petitioners attribute the immense increase in the slave-trade which has taken place during the last three years, to the alteration in the Sugar Duties, which allows of the introduction into the British markets of the slave-grown sugars of Cuba and Brazil; and they are persuaded that, in proportion as the differential duties now levied on such sugars shall diminish, the inhuman traffic will more and more increase; and they consider that such an application of free-trade principles to slave-trade products will continue to lead to the positive protection of crimes the most atrocious, and to oppressions the most relentless which have ever disgraced the history of the world.

That whilst your petitioners deeply deplore the disastrous effects which have followed the alteration in the fiscal policy of this country, in this particular, they attribute chiefly, if not exclusively, the continuance of the slave-trade to the bad faith of the Brazilian and Spanish Governments, who, contrary to the solemn stipulations of their treaties with this country for its complete suppression, still suffer it to be openly and flagrantly carried on.

That your petitioners regard this daring violation of treaty rights, purchased at an immense cost to this country, in the highest degree dishonourable to Brazil and Spain, and a great indignity offered the Government, the Parliament, and the people of this nation.

That your petitioners are satisfied that no amount of force brought to bear on the suppression of the slave-trade will ever effect its abolition, or

materially lessen its extent; for that, instigated by the great demand for slaves, and the enormous profits which the traffic secures, unprincipled men will ever be found to carry it on, with a skill, daring, and energy which cannot be overcome by such means.

That, with a view to the extinction of this execrable traffic,—

Your petitioners most urgently and respectfully entreat that your honourable House, as the least thing that ought to be done under the circumstances of the case, will recommend that Her Majesty forthwith instruct the principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to claim the repayment of such monies as may have been paid to either or both of these Powers to obtain the treaties which have been so long, so notoriously, and so dishonourably violated; and also make a formal demand on the Brazilian and Spanish Governments for the liberation from slavery of all Africans who, contrary to the stipulations of treaties, ratified by their own laws, have been, or may be, illicitly introduced into their territories or colonies respectively, together with their descendants; and, in the event of their either attempting to evade or procrastinate its strict fulfilment, to notify to them that measures will be adopted for excluding their produce from the British markets until such time as slavery itself shall be abolished by them.

We had intended to have given some general account of the various meetings which have been held by the Secretary, in different parts of the country, and the enthusiasm with which the propositions of the Anti-slavery Committee have been received; but we forbear doing so, to make room for an extract from the most recent official advices from the Coast of Africa, in reference to the desperate energy and success with which the slave-trade is at present carried on. The head-quarters of the cruising squadron is now St. Paul de Loanda; and the latest intelligence thence is to the 15th of November, 1848. From this we learn that—

“The slave-trade is greatly on the increase on the North Coast, and the Pongas, Nunez, Gallinas, and Cape Mount rivers are swarming with slavers.” * * * And, in reference to the coast south of the line, it is added:—“The new governor of the Portuguese possessions on the West Coast has entered upon his duties at this place (St. Paul de Loanda), and the fleet of eight or ten cruisers, under the orders of a new naval commander-in-chief, are now actively employed in the suppression of the slave-trade; their sphere of usefulness has, however, been recently crippled by a new treaty with Brazil, which limits the capture of slave vessels under that flag to within three miles of the shores of the Portuguese territories. The captain of the *Madonna* has, however, been making amends for this restriction by burning to the ground all the barracoons belonging to the subjects of that empire, as well as those of his own countrymen along the coast. This and similar cases evidence a certain measure of vigilance on the part of the Portuguese officers to check the enormities of the slave-trade; but, alas! they are mere isolated cases, and are, as well as all the exertions of the British, next to futile in stemming the virulence of the disease which is drying up the vital energies of Africa.”

We have no recent news from the East Coast of Africa; but it will be seen from the foregoing extract, that both north and south of the line on the West Coast, the slave-trade is carried on with unabated activity. In face, however, of the multiplied evidence to the contrary,—evidence which extends over a period of thirty years,—there are yet found naval officers who contend for keeping up the blockade on the Coast of Africa. The *Times* of last week published a letter from Captain Trotter, R.N., to this effect; but an answer appeared on the 29th ult., from the pen of Lieut. W. T. F. Jackson, R.N., who states that he has “just returned from the Coast with totally different news.” From Lieut. Jackson’s letter we make the following extract, which will be found important. He says:—

“Viewing the slave traffic merely as an illicit trade, which Government vessels have to suppress, it is a well-known axiom in our Custom-house, that any contraband trade yielding 30 per cent. cannot be stopped, for such is human nature that individuals will always be found willing to risk the severest punishment for that amount of profit. Are the philanthropists in England aware of the profit of a single slave? The average price of a slave on the coast is a doubloon, or £3. 8s. Supposing that a slave is paid for in goods instead of coin, which form generally the greatest part of the purchase—then there is profit on profit again. This slave, on being landed in the Brazils, is, since our blockade, worth from £50 to £70., leaving a per centage, after all deductions of goods and agency, far above the Custom-house standard. A few years ago a slave merchant made a considerable profit if one vessel in three landed her cargo. Now, owing to the large force we maintain on the coast, they have been able to raise their prices, so that if a merchant has six vessels on the venture,

and one escapes, he is amply repaid. For this I have the authority of the slave captains and the slave factors themselves. I have been repeatedly told by the captains of slavers, and the factors on shore, that if we gave up the blockade they must give up business. It is true we have in some measure deterred the small trader, the petty trafficker in human flesh, from pursuing his avocations, because, perhaps, the capture of one or two ships might ruin him, but we have put the trade on a larger scale, and the great Rio traders carry on their business in a gigantic manner, compared with their operations previous to the blockade. Again, if a smuggler on the coast of England is caught with a few pocket handkerchiefs, he is imprisoned or fined, but the trafficker in human life escapes free, and boasts to his captors how many times he has been taken or has escaped, and of his intention to return on the first opportunity to his old occupation. Let any one compare the number of slaves taken by our cruisers with those landed in the Brazils. In 1846, 7,000 were captured and 70,000 landed, the number captured being sufficient to give such a stimulus to the market that there was no diminution in the profit to the trader. With all deference to the high and humane feelings that animated those who first projected the blockade, I cannot, as an humble individual, but express my opinion that the present scheme is futile and Quixotic. I am aware that in intruding my opinion I am opposing men of high standing and acknowledged wisdom; it is with all humility that I would offer these remarks, founded though they be on close observation and practical experience gained on the spot. Instead of throwing away valuable lives and £3,000,000 per annum in the maintenance of this blockade, I would suggest the gradual increase of our colonies, and the spreading of our influence amongst the native chiefs.”

It is probable that the Select Committee on the slave-trade will be re-appointed at the opening of the next session of Parliament, which will give time to the friends of the anti-slavery cause throughout the United Kingdom to hold meetings, where practicable, and adopt petitions. We are gratified in being able to state that the Society of Friends are directing their serious attention to the slave-trade and slavery. A minute was issued on the 1st of December last, in which its members are recommended to inquire—“What they are doing towards the removal of these evils, and to the maintenance of a religious state of mind in relation thereto, in order that they may discern the right course of procedure on behalf of the suffering millions of our enslaved fellow-men.” Might not other religious bodies follow this excellent example?

We beg to call the special attention of our readers to the memorial to Lord Grey, at the commencement of the *Reporter*, against the proposed re-enactment of a Slave Code in Trinidad. We regret that our space will not permit us, in the present number, to give such additional information as we possess in relation to this matter. We are satisfied that the proposal to bring the immigrant labourers in the colonies into a state of bondage will not be endured by the people of this country. Up to the time of going to press, the Anti-Slavery Committee have received no reply to their memorial; they are determined, however, to leave no legitimate means unused to defeat any and every attempt to restrict the liberties of the emancipated classes, or of the immigrants who may be induced to resort to the colonies for labour.

The question of the annexation of Cuba to the United States has at length found its way into the American Senate. The following important extract from American correspondence will show how the matter stood on the departure of the last mail:—

“On the 5th of January the purchase of Cuba was debated. On motion, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of a resolution, previously offered by Mr. Miller, of New Jersey, calling on the President of the United States to communicate to the Senate any correspondence had with the Government of Spain for the purchase of the island of Cuba. During his remarks, Mr. T. I. Rusk, of Texas, interrupted him, and said that he wished to ask a question:—‘Does the senator from New Jersey suspect that such a correspondence is now going on between the two Governments in reference to the sale and purchase of Cuba?’ Mr. Miller, ‘I do.’ Mr. H. S. Foote, of Mississippi, said, ‘If negotiations are going on for the said purchase, will the senator oppose the annexation of Cuba?’ Mr. Miller, ‘I will oppose it under all circumstances, in all places, and on all occasions.’ Mr. Foote, ‘The senator, I am sorry to say, will be in an awkward position three months hence, for General Taylor is most decidedly in favour of the annexation of Cuba.’ A motion was here made by Mr. Rusk to lay the resolution on the table, which was objected to, but the Senate overruled the objection, and the motion was taken up and decided in the affirmative, by yeas 24, nays 19.”

FREE-LABOUR COTTON.

We extract the following interesting communication from the *New Era*, of St. Vincent:—

TO THE PLANTERS AND MERCHANTS OF THE ISLAND OF ST. VINCENT.

“Manchester, 14th November, 1848.

“Gentlemen,—We are happy to inform you that an impression has been made upon the minds of the ‘Friends of Freedom,’ in this country, in favour of the produce of British West Indies, seeing that Government has entirely failed to put down the slave-trade, and that its policy of 1846 has given an additional stimulus to slavery,—seeing also that no alteration in its policy is to be expected or depended on, the ‘Friends of Freedom’ have come to the resolve to endeavour to restrict themselves and their households to the use and consumption of ‘free-labour’ produce, in preference to that which is slave-grown.

“Cotton forming an article upon which much slave-labour is expended, and being of very extensive consumption, of course has attracted the attention of the anti-slavery public, and we naturally look to those countries which can produce cotton, but where no slaves are employed, and therefore the West Indies meet with their share of notice, and we look to them to produce a cotton equal to any of the American.

“The East Indian cotton is for the most part short in the fibre, and only suitable for certain coarse fabrics; while the West Indian is generally long, fine, and strong in the fibre, and suitable for muslins, &c.

“A parcel of nine bales fine, and four of a coarser quality, in connexion with this movement, was sent from Barbadoes; the fine fetched 8d. per lb., and the coarser, 4½d., which, considering the present state of the cotton market, and the smallness of the lot, was a most encouraging price. If the lot had been larger, say 900 instead of nine bales, it would have been sold immediately on receipt of the samples; but the objection to clear the machinery for such a small quantity, caused it to lie on hand a few days.

“Arrangements have been made with both spinners and manufacturers, upon whom the movers in this matter can depend, to use ‘free-labour cotton,’ if they (the movers) will supply them with it, so that they may have a sufficiency, and not require to change; but, it is also necessary that parties shipping cotton as ‘free-labour cotton,’ should be those on whose honour the friends of this object may depend, as persons who will use every precaution to guard against sending unwittingly slave-grown cotton.

“In connexion with this movement, we beg to tender our services to dispose of cotton grown in your island, and from our knowledge of the buyers and manufacturers favourably disposed to the object in view, we trust we shall do well for your interest.

“We have appointed D. C. Da Costa, Esq., to give a certificate of the cotton being ‘free-grown,’ for the satisfaction of ourselves and customers. Samples of the Barbadoes reine cotton, which fetched 8d. per lb., lie at the store of D. C. Da Costa, Esq., for inspection.

“We shall be happy to afford information to parties desirous of shipping cotton.

“We are, gentlemen, yours faithfully,
“BROWNE AND FLEMING.”

UNITED STATES—SENATE.

December 13, 1848.

SLAVERY IN NEW MEXICO.

Mr. Benton said that a Senator from Delaware (Mr. Clayton) and himself had received a communication from New Mexico, taking into consideration the condition of that country, with the request that they would present it to the Senate of the United States.

Mr. B. then sent to the Secretary a memorial of the people of New Mexico, assembled in convention at Santa Fe, October 14th, 1848, praying Congress to organize a Territorial Government in that country. The memorial contains, among other, the following clauses, viz.:—

“We respectfully but firmly protest against the dismemberment of our territory in favour of Texas, or for any cause.

“We do not desire to have domestic slavery within our borders; and, until the time shall arrive for our admission into the Union as a State, we desire to be protected by Congress against its introduction among us.”

Mr. Benton moved the printing of the memorial, and its reference to the Committee on Territories.—Mr. Clayton seconded this motion, and expressed his intention of labouring assiduously to obtain the organization of a Territorial Government over New Mexico.

Mr. Calhoun rose, and said he had no objection to the reference proposed; but he desired to express the opinion, that for that territory, under all the circumstances of the case, to send such a petition to the Congress of the United States, was disrespectful, and most insolent. They desired to exclude from among them the very men who had conquered them. Mr. C., however, could not wonder at its presentation, coming from the quarter from which it had come, upon the floor of the Senate.

Mr. Benton replied with some warmth, and, on behalf of himself and the Senator from Delaware, disclaimed for the petitioners any intention to be disrespectful or insolent. He thought the application of such an epithet entirely gratuitous.

Mr. Calhoun maintained, as a high constitutional principle, that the right of the South to go there with their property was as unquestionable as their right to hold their property in their own States. The territory belonged to the United States—to Carolina or Virginia, as much as to New York or to Massachusetts.

Mr. Rusk rose, not to go into a general discussion of the merits of the memorial, and all the subjects connected therewith, but, as a citizen of Texas, to assert her indisputable title to all of the territory of New Mexico this side of the Rio Grande—a title which, upon examination, would be found to be borne out by the laws of nations and the facts as they exist.

Mr. Benton said, that the only part of that petition to which the term “insolent” applies, in the opinion of the Senator from South Carolina, is that part which relates to the subject of slavery.

Mr. Calhoun said he had made no complaint of the manner in which the petition had been presented, but to its matter. The Southern States claimed the right, under the constitution, to go into any portion of the territory conquered by the arms of the United States, and especially by troops drawn from that portion of the country; and now, to pray for the exclusion of his constituents from that country, was the height of insolence.

Mr. Benton again denied the charge of “insolence.” He asserted the constitutional right of the people of New Mexico—conquered or unconquered, coming into our nation by conquest now, or coming into it heretofore as a part of Texas, in any view of the matter—to present their petition. Every subject in their memorial was a fair subject for legislation, and they had presented them in respectful terms. They had done what they had a right to do, and Mr. B. would not have the term “insolent” applied to them, without saying, in a way that should be understood, that the expression was gratuitous and unfounded.

Mr. Westcott expressed his doubt of the genuineness of the petition.

Mr. Clayton expressed his regret that this debate had occurred. The honourable Senator from Florida (Mr. Westcott) had prejudiced the interests of the petitioners, by insisting that the paper, which they had sent here, was an imposition. Why, sir, said Mr. C., it comes accredited by the Senator from Missouri and myself, and by letters from gentlemen residing in the territory. Now, Mr. President, I deprecate any discussion upon the two questions which are most calculated to excite any discussion, while the petition is in this preliminary stage—the question whether slavery shall be restricted in that territory, and the question whether the limits of the territory shall be on this side of the Rio Grande, or whether they shall stop with the river. These gentlemen say they are opposed to the introduction of slavery. Now, whether they are abolitionists, or whatever they are, they have a right to say that—have they not? Why, sir, if a petition were sent here, claiming to be signed by some fifteen gentlemen, who desired that slaves should be introduced there, would any gentleman rise and say that it was disrespectful to one-half the Senate, or to one-half the country—to the great North, which has claimed through the whole campaign that there shall be no slavery either in California or in New Mexico?

Mr. Calhoun—A single word, Mr. President, in relation to the charge of disrespect. I rose to express my sentiments, and I shall ever rise when any occasion demands that I should vindicate the honour of those I represent. I call it the height of insolence for the people recently subjected by our arms, to come here and pray the American Congress to exclude from its territory one-half of the people of the nation to which that territory belongs. It does not belong to the North as the North, or to the South as the South. It belongs to the thirty States; and is it not a piece of insolence that they should come here and present such a petition? Sir, if I had taken the ground which my own feelings dictated, I would have moved to lay the petition on the table; but, let it go.

Mr. Benton—As the Senator from South Carolina reiterates, in the most formal manner, his declaration that the petition is insolent, and that it is such a one as ought not to be received, because it affects the interests of, or is disrespectful to, half the States of the Union, I desire, sir, that he should have an opportunity of recording his vote; and if he will make a motion to reject the petition, I will give way. I pause, to give the gentleman an opportunity.

Mr. Calhoun—I make no motion, sir!

Mr. Benton—Then, sir, I move that the petition be printed, and upon that question I ask the yeas and nays, that we may see who is willing to charge these petitioners with insolence to the American Senate, in presenting their petition here.

Mr. Hale rose and said: Mr. President, as this subject has created some debate at this unusual stage of the session, I do not know but that it is as good a time to meet the great question involved as at any other. My amendment is, that the petition be referred to the Committee on Territories, with instructions to report a bill organizing a Government

agreeably to the suggestions of the memorial. This, sir, is a petition asking legislation upon a most serious subject—a subject upon which the honourable Senator from Mississippi has well said that the public mind has been greatly agitated, and upon which it will continue to be agitated until the question is definitively settled—not compromised. I do not believe that compromises will meet the case; but it must be settled, and settled upon principle; and it is just as well to meet it here, at this point, as at any other time. I hope, sir, that those who believe that the people of that country are entitled to a Government, will be prepared to give a vote upon this question, and to give it power. Besides, sir, this question is put upon the democratic platform—upon the platform of the Nicholson letter. That, sir, laid down the doctrine that the matter should be left to the people of the country. Now, sir, the people have spoken. They have probably read the Nicholson letter, and have thought that Congress, in its progressive march, had got up to the step indicated by that letter. They may also have heard that there is a “change going on in the public mind.” Of this, however, not being certain, they have come here upon the Nicholson letter, and have petitioned for such a Government as they desire. I move, sir, that the memorial be referred, with instructions to the committee to report a bill in accordance with the prayers of the petitioners.

Mr. Hale here remarked, that the Senator from Texas (Mr. Rusk) had suggested to him that by voting upon the motion to amend, so as to give instructions to the committee, the Senate would prejudge the question as to the right of Texas to all the territory of the Rio Grande (which Mr. H. had no desire to do,) and he therefore, by leave of the Senate, would withdraw his amendment.

The question being taken upon the motion to print the memorial, it was decided in the affirmative by the following vote, viz. :—

Yeas, 33; nays, 14.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Mr. Palfrey asked leave to introduce a bill for the repeal of all acts of Congress establishing slavery in the district of Columbia.

Several members objecting,

Mr. P. demanded the yeas and nays on the motion for leave, which were ordered; and being taken, resulted—yeas, 69; nays, 82.

So the motion for leave was negatived.

Mr. Root offered a resolution, requiring the Committee on the Territories to promptly bring in a bill or bills organizing Governments for California and New Mexico, which should exclude slavery therefrom; and on this he moved the previous question, which was carried.

The question having been put, it was adopted—yeas, 107; nays, 80.

Dec. 20th.—Mr. Giddings asked leave, in pursuance of notice, to introduce a Bill to authorize the people of the district of Columbia to express their desire as to the continuance of slavery therein.

The Bill was then read, a portion of which we subjoin :—

“Be it enacted, that it shall be lawful for the male inhabitants of the district of Columbia over twenty-one years, who have resided therein during one year next preceding the passage of this Bill, to assemble on the 1st Monday of April next, to select, *viva voce*, three judges and two clerks of said Convention.

“That each person thus described may then express his desire for continuance of slavery within the said district, by handing to one of the judges a ticket, on which shall be written or printed the word **SLAVERY**—and those who may desire the establishment of freedom in said district, may express the same by handing to one of said judges a ticket, on which shall be written or printed the word **LIBERTY**.”

The future sections provide for the country registering, &c., of the voters, and the statement of the numbers of voters on either side, in order to their being reported to the Senate and House of Representatives at the next session of Congress.

Mr. Gidding said that he had endeavoured, in drawing up his Bill, to make everything so plain that every member could understand it. It was simply a question to be propounded to the people of the district of Columbia, whether they, in fact, desired the continuance of the institution of slavery or not?

Mr. Jacob Thompson said—I desire to know whether the people of this district have expressed in any way a desire that Congress should pass such a law as is contemplated in this Bill?

Mr. Giddings—I say they have. I say that a number of them, and the leading men among them, have made such a request, and it is in accordance with that request that the Bill has been drawn.

Mr. Thompson said he had not probably distinctly heard the reading of the Bill, but he understood one of its provisions to be, that every male inhabitant in the district, over twenty-one years of age, should vote at the contemplated Convention. Now, he wished the gentleman to explain whether, in using that expression, it was the intention that negroes, bond and free, were to take part in this expression of public sentiment.

Mr. Giddings said that when he looked abroad upon the family of man,

he knew no distinctions. He knew of no persons in this district who did not come from the same creating hand that formed himself and the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. Tompkins), and when he (Mr. Giddings) spoke of the people of this district, he meant precisely what he said. He meant every male inhabitant of the district of Columbia over twenty-one years of age. He did not draw any distinctions. He would not suffer the man who held his fellow-man in bondage to say, whether he would do this thing or not, and then refuse to put the question to him who was thus bound. If the gentleman from Mississippi chose to offer an amendment, excluding both the slaveholder and the slave, he (Mr. Giddings) would go with him; but as the advocate of the eternal principles of truth and justice, he never would submit to give one man the control of another man's liberty. Any such attempts struck at the very foundation of his principles. Every feeling of his soul shrunk with abhorrence from the proposition. He stood here as the advocate of our common humanity; he stood here to uphold those rights and to demand that the enduring principles of justice should be meted out to every individual in the district of Columbia. He did not come here the advocate of any peculiar rights—of one claiming rights over another. He stood here on sound democratic principles.

Mr. Jacob Thompson moved that the Bill be laid on the table, and asked the yeas and nays on that motion.

The yeas and nays were ordered. And the question “Shall this Bill be laid on the table?” was taken, and resulted—Yeas 106, nays 70.

Dec. 21st.—The call of the States for resolutions being in order, Mr. Gott, of New York, offered the following resolution, and moved the previous question thereon :—

“Whereas the traffic in human beings, as chattels, now prosecuted within the metropolis of the republic, is contrary to natural justice, to the fundamental principles of our political system, and is a notorious reproach to our country throughout Christendom, and a serious hindrance to the progress of republican liberty among the nations of the earth: therefore,

“Resolved, That the Committee on the district of Columbia be instructed to bring in, as soon as practicable, a bill prohibiting the slave-trade in the district of Columbia.”

The previous question being seconded, and the main question ordered by the House, a motion was made that the resolution do lie on the table, on which the Yeas and Nays were ordered and taken, as follows: Yeas, 82; Nays, 85.

So it was not laid on the table.

The question then recurred on the passage of the resolution, and the main question having been ordered by the House, and the Yeas and Nays demanded, the resolution PASSED by the following vote: Yeas, 98; Nays, 87.

Mr. Stuart, of Michigan, moved the reconsideration of the decision, but as the rules of the House prevented its being heard on that day, the further consideration of the question was postponed.

Dec. 27th.—The House proceeded to the consideration of the motion of Mr. Stuart, of Michigan, for reconsidering the question of the slave-trade in the district of Columbia. Yeas, 58; Nays, 107.

So the House decided that the motion to reconsider should not be laid on the table.

THE SOUTHERN CAUCUS.—The Washington correspondent of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* gives the following as the spirit of Mr. Bayly's resolutions, which were referred to the Committee of fifteen. The resolutions declare, First, the attachment of the South to the Union of these States. Second, that in case of the violation of the constitutional rights of any portion of the confederacy, it is the privilege and the duty of the States aggrieved thereby, themselves to devise the mode and measure of redress. Third, that in case the aggressions on the rights of the South, threatened by the recent action of the House of Representatives on the subject of slavery, shall be consummated, it shall be the right and the duty of the slaveholding States to devise proper measures to redress their wrongs.

The following is the spirit of Mr. Calhoun's remarks: “I am, he said, thoroughly impressed with the necessity of united and harmonious action, both on our part and on the part of the Southern community. Whatever action is taken must proceed from the slaveholding States. We are in the theatre of action, the witnesses of the alarming encroachments which have been going on upon the rights of the slaveholding part of the confederacy. We see them plainly, we feel them deeply. They are rapid and alarming, for who would have believed, even three years ago, that the propositions which have, within a few days past, commanded the support of a majority of the Lower House of Congress, would have been tolerated by any respectable portion of either House? It is undeniable that great encroachments have been made on our rights. They must be met. I conceive that no Southern man can entertain for one moment the idea of tame submission. The action of the South should be united, calm, and decided. Our position must be taken deliberately, but held at every hazard.”

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—MAMMOTH PETITION AGAINST SLAVERY.—The *New York Independent* says, that a zealous committee of ladies in New York have conceived the noble idea of obtaining the names of an immense number of women, all over the country, as signers to a single petition to Congress, against the extension of slavery, and for its extinction wherever the power of Congress can reach it. It publishes a copy of the petition, and hopes that every woman who may receive a copy will set to work immediately, to get as many signers as she can to this form of petition; and when the work is completed, which should be without delay, to send the petition, with the names, to one of the following gentlemen, in Congress, who have agreed to take charge of such petitions, viz., the Hon. John P. Hale, the Hon. J. R. Giddings, the Hon. J. G. Palfrey, the Hon. Amos Tuck.

PETITION.

To the Honourable the Senate of the United States and House of Representatives.

Your petitioners, women of America, whose names are hereunto subscribed, constrained by the love of humanity, address you in behalf of the claims of a million and a half of their sex, who are afforded no legal protection for the heart's dearest ties, or woman's sacred honour, but with their husbands, sons, and brothers, are doomed victims of a system that dwarfs the intellect, degrades the morals, and debases the entire being.

Believing that they are solemnly bound to remember those who are in bonds as bound with them, and believing that in this AGE of LIGHT, while the great principles of LIBERTY are animating the nations, that the Government of these United States—this model republic—should use all its constitutional power to eradicate, within its own bounds, an evil which is being repudiated by the civilized world as its direst curse—they are constrained respectfully and earnestly to pray your honourable body at once to devise such measures as may come legitimately within your province, both to prevent the farther extension of American Slavery, and to withdraw the protection and countenance hitherto afforded by your Government and Flag to the American slave-trade, and to suppress slavery effectually in those sections over which Congress has competent jurisdiction.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—The champion State of the "peculiar institutions of the South," is not idle. Her leading journals proclaim open resistance, should (to use their own language) the "rights of the South be trampled upon in this matter." A Committee of her State Senate, on the 9th inst., reported the following resolutions:—

"Whereas it appears to be the deliberate purpose of a large portion of the people of the Northern States of this Union to attempt, through Congress, the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia, and to exclude the introduction of slaves into New Mexico and California, in the organization of their territorial Governments: Be it therefore resolved:—

"1. That we solemnly deny the power of Congress, under the Federal Compact, to interfere directly or indirectly, mediately or immediately, with the existence of slavery in the district of Columbia, or to prohibit its introduction into any territory acquired by treaty, or by the joint arms of the separate, sovereign, and independent States of this Confederacy, or into any portion of this continent.

"2. That the General Assembly cordially approves, and adopts as its own, the resolutions passed by the Legislature of Virginia in the year 1847, wherein it is asserted that under no circumstances will that body recognize any enactment of the Federal Government, which has for its object the prohibition of slavery in any territory acquired either by conquest or treaty; and that the passage of the 'Wilmot Proviso' by Congress, making it the duty of every slaveholding State, and all citizens thereof, as they value their dearest privileges, their sovereignty, their independence, their rights of property, to take firm, united and concerted action in this emergency.

"3. That upon the question of the Wilmot Proviso, the General Assembly entertains a determined feeling of opposition and resistance; and that, regarding it as a paramount issue in their federal relations, they are disposed to forego all minor differences of opinion with the other slaveholding States, in order to form a perfect union with them, in opposition and resistance to legislation by Congress, at once intolerable and unconstitutional.

"4. That the governor of this State is hereby requested to forward a copy of these resolutions to the several executives of the slaveholding States, to be laid before their respective legislatures, and that they be invited to co-operate in such measures as may be deemed necessary to protect southern rights, property, and honour.

"5. That the governor of this State be further requested to forward a copy of these resolutions to our senators and representatives at Washington, to be laid before the Houses of Congress during their present session."

RANSOM OF TWO CHRISTIAN FEMALES IN FREE AMERICA.—An

immense meeting (say 2,500 persons) was held in the Tabernacle, Broadway, to raise the means to rescue two Christian girls from slavery. These girls were among those that made the effort to escape in the *Pearl*. After being retaken, they were sold for 1,500 dollars to slave drivers, who certify to their good character and conduct, and say "They are equal to any white girls," and, "if there is a real Christian upon earth, he (Mr. Bruen, one of the firm of slave dealers) believes Mary Edmonson to be one." Bruen and Hill, the traders, ask 2,250 dollars, or 50 per cent. profit on their purchase, and give the poor old father a letter, in which they state that he "intends to appeal to the humane and good to aid him." As they avow their determination to sell these two helpless Christian girls, who would bring 2,250 dollars, only because of their comeliness, intelligence, and piety, into the hands of cruel and licentious men, unless the father may be able to pay them 750 dollars profit, of course they give up all claims, on their part, to humanity and goodness. The Tabernacle holds about 2,500 people, and there were more persons present than could find seats. The spirit of the meeting was excellent, and over 1,600 dollars were raised towards the object. Notices of this meeting were read in most of the Congregational churches in New York and Brooklyn, with comments upon the abominations and wickedness of slavery. The Rev. Harry N. Beecher, of Brooklyn, (son of Dr. B. of Cincinnati,) took a prominent part in the meeting. The same gentleman told his congregation, a few Sabbaths since, that it was not to be wondered at that the churches in Brooklyn were so cold and lifeless, when an elder of one of the leading Presbyterian churches held, and had held for a year past, a Methodist minister as a slave, whom he had taken for debt, and had not yet been able to dispose of. The statement has made some noise; but the fact is not an isolated one. I have seen a bill of sale into freedom of the Edmonson girls, price 2,250 dollars.—*Letters from William E. Whiting, of New York, dated October 24th and November 13th, 1848.*

PROGRESS IN KENTUCKY.—There is so much hopefulness and practicalness about the anti-slavery papers in the slaveholding States, that, on reading them, we thank God and take courage. The *Examiner*, of Louisville (Kentucky), is pre-eminent in these respects. We cannot see how slaveholders, disposed to reason the question, can resist the force of arguments so cogent, appeals so kind and earnest, as the *Examiner* presents. The following extract of a letter from one of its correspondents in Kentucky is encouraging:—

"There are many signs of progress of the emancipation feeling among our people. Let me give you some items which will go to show the fact:—

"At our court, a few days since, the sheriff offered for sale a mother and children. The mother was first put upon the block; the bystanders urged him (the sheriff) to sell them all together. I was not present, but was told that the company manifested quite a desire that the mother and her children should go together.

"Col. — (a prominent politician and decided pro-slavery man in feeling and practice) remarked to the company, 'that such separations ought to be prohibited by law, and that when we have a new constitution it should be done.' Now, two years ago, this gentleman would have thought it a good act for slavery men to have lynched certain anti-slavery men hereabouts. Yet he told me, in the winter, that he would sign a petition to the Legislature, to prohibit the separation of slave families.

"If this spirit increases here till fall, as it has done for some time past, we could procure, I think, five hundred voters to sign a petition for the purpose aforesaid; and it does seem to me, that if there could be concert of action among the friends all over the State, and a flood of such petitions sent to our next General Assembly, that it would tell well for the cause of humanity and liberty. Where is the Kentuckian, who knows a parent's love, or the tender feelings of a father for his offspring, that could object to such a law? Especially would those who have lost lovely babes know how to feel for others' woes; and were I a slave, I would esteem it a mercy that my little daughter should be torn away from me by death, rather than sold to a merciless slave-driver, to be carried into a distant land, there to minister to the lust of some brutal master, while her immortal part should be left uncared for.

"You have a subscriber in —, a man of wealth and influence, who, I am told, is of opinion that if the *slavery question is properly presented* to the people of Kentucky, that there will be as great a majority for emancipation as there was last August for a Convention. He comes to this conclusion from the fact, he says, that almost all the slaveholders of his county believe we would be in a better condition without slaves. That idea is, I may say, almost universal with our slave owners, or at least becoming very general here."—*National Era*.

We give another encouraging circumstance:—

In the city of Louisville, which stands on the Kentucky side of the Ohio, not a great way from Cincinnati, and in a position where its inhabitants have constantly forced upon them the unpleasant comparison between the prosperity of a slave and free population, was recently held a meeting at which the question of slavery was boldly discussed. The *Examiner* tells us, Mr. Charles M. Thurston declared that the old questions of Bank, Protection, &c., were all of secondary importance to

that of slavery. He spoke of the evils of slavery, and exclaimed, "Would to God we were rid of it!" One burst of enthusiastic applause followed this expression. "We feel," says the *Examiner*, "that the meeting pronounced the doom of slavery.—Let no one say that our prospects are gloomy: the voice of the people is the voice of God!" The speaker hoped that a clause, emancipating the slaves, would be inserted in the constitution. Applause followed the expression of this hope. Not a voice in the meeting was raised in favour of slavery.

SYNOD OF MONROE, MICHIGAN.—The following is the report and resolutions of the Committee on the subject of slavery:—

"Your Committee feel that we are called upon by the imperious voice of the Most High, by everything generous and noble in humanity, and by the sublime, moral, and philanthropic movements of the age in which we live, to lend our influence, as an ecclesiastical judicatory, great or small however that influence may be, to set aright the convictions of our country and the world upon the subject of human oppression. Slavery, even in our own country, has had time to expire, could it ever find a natural death. Long time have its advocates been called upon to yield up their unhappy victims. Every motive connected with private and social happiness, with mortal and immortal welfare, has been placed before them to induce their compliance. That they *will not*, how many the proofs—and *obstinate*. No; the heart of the slave-master will not relent; the statutes of the slave code will not grow dim—'fade to whiteness,' *never*—unless the church withdraw from the institution her sanction and support; yea, till she withhold from it her entire sympathy, and place upon it the broad seal of her strong and universal REPROBATION. This your Committee feel prepared to do, and for this purpose propose the passage of the following resolutions:—

"Resolved, 1.—That all *voluntary* and *determined* slaveholding, except where persons are held in servitude as a penalty for crime, is, in the opinion of this body, a sin against God.

"Resolved, 2.—That we believe it the duty of all philanthropists, and of all Christians especially, to avow their decided disapprobation of the system of slavery, as it exists in these United States, and to withhold their entire countenance from all who are, in any way, engaged in promoting it.

"Resolved, 3.—That the voluntary arrest and re-delivery of escaped slaves into bondage is inhuman, forbidden by the word of God, and ought to subject those engaged in it to disgrace and infamy; and, if nominal Christians, to the discipline of the church.

"Resolved, 4.—That we sincerely deprecate the extension of slavery into the free territories of this civilized and Christian nation, and will use all our religious and political influence, and make our fervent appeal to Almighty God, the Sovereign of all national destiny, to prevent it.

"Resolved, 5.—That we greatly rejoice in the example set before us by all civilized nations, in their efforts to abolish slavery, and to expand the cause of freedom throughout the world."

TESTIMONY AGAINST SLAVERY.—**SYNOD OF CINCINNATI.**—The *New York Observer*, of November 18th, contains a memorial from the Synod of Cincinnati to the Triennial Assembly. It is said to have been adopted by a unanimous vote. The conclusion of this memorial is as follows:—

"Natural and inalienable rights are derived from God, and are defined and protected by his authority; and no human authority, individual or national, is at liberty to abrogate or abridge them; or to extenuate or justify their violation; and to attempt to do so, is rebellion against the Divine government.

"In one half the States of this Union there are laws which deny to a part of the population the control of their persons, and just compensation of their labour; which, in some cases, prohibit intellectual cultivation; making it penal to instruct slaves to read, thus virtually depriving them of the personal use of the word of God; which totally disregard the marriage relation, and subvert the family institution, violating its integrity, rendering it impossible to preserve its purity, and frustrating its grand design, by refusing parents due opportunity to exercise their rights or discharge their duties; which make all the facilities for obtaining a knowledge of religion, as well as the entire outward practice, subject to the will of the master; which supersede the moral government of God by the substitution of physical force for the guidance of conduct and formation of character; and which attempt to establish human legislation, with reference to personal rights, in opposition to that which is Divine.

"The system of servitude upheld and perpetuated by these laws is, both in its principles and practice, essentially different from that recognized and sanctioned in the Old and New Testaments; the Old Testament securing certain personal, political, and religious rights which the American system totally denies; and the New Testament requiring 'masters to forbear threatening,' and to give their servants, as the creatures of God, and not of law or corrupt custom, 'what is just and equal;' a requisition which, if followed, would at once annihilate the assumed right of property in man, and elevate the slaves to the dignity and right of men.

"We are glad to know that the kind feeling and moral principle of the

community prevent the full exercise of the despotic and cruel power conferred by these laws, and lead to many efforts to ameliorate, to a limited extent, the degraded and wretched condition of those held in this bondage; yet we are constrained to believe that a considerable number of the officers and members of our churches exact and receive the services of their fellow-men under these laws, and claim and exercise the power they confer. In so doing they are involved in the guilt of this system, and assist to perpetuate it by the sanction of their example and influence, if they do not defend it as scriptural and right.

"In view of this whole subject, therefore,

"Resolved—That this paper be forwarded as an expression of the views of this Synod to the General Assembly at its next meeting, in May next; and that we memorialize that body in behalf of our whole church, to bear its solemn and decided testimony against these practices, as inconsistent with a Christian profession, and requiring the exercise of church discipline, and against the countenance, encouragement, or defence of the system by which they are produced and upheld."

THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE PURCHASE OF CUBA.—The Hon. Mr. Botts, of Virginia, a member of the House of Representatives, has received a letter from Madrid, and intends to put a question on the subject to the secretary of state. Of the accuracy of the information we gave on the subject of the proposed purchase, there is not the shadow of a doubt. The whole matter, however, is now put *hors de combat* by the election of General Taylor, whose policy will most likely be to improve the acquisitions we have already got, including the gold region of California, instead of seeking new territories, or more annexation. Let us breathe, and digest what we have acquired.—*New York Herald*.

LIBERIA COFFEE.—A Boston paper has published the following interesting information, which evidences the march of improvement in the colony and new Republic of Liberia, in Africa:—

"We have received from the Colonization Office, in this city, a sample of coffee which was grown on the farm of the Rev. Mr. Moore, of Bexley, Bassa County, in Liberia. We are glad to learn that the cultivation thrives to such an extent in that country, that some of the inhabitants are beginning to have a surplus for exportation, and 1,400 lbs. have recently been sent over to this country, by the Hon. S. A. Benson, of Bassa Cove. The coffee is good looking, of a large kernel, and quite green in appearance. Its flavour, although a little peculiar, is very pleasant. It will be a singular incident in the history of trade and commerce, if the productions of *free labour*, on the Coast of Africa, should take the place of the same articles furnished by the labour of *African slaves* in the Spanish West Indies and Brazil!"

HAYTI.—We have received a copy of a proclamation issued, under date of the 4th inst., by President Faustin Soulouque, of Hayti, of which we give a condensation herewith. From the absence of any file of papers up to that date, we are unable to give any account of the origin of this manifesto. The proclamation commences by thanks to the people for their mark of confidence in him, in electing him to the presidency, and promising always to uphold their rights. He regrets that lamentable occurrences have taken place in the country, and congratulates them that the friends of law and order have gained the victory, and calls on them to sustain by their acts the present peaceful condition of the republic—the re-established commercial confidence, the revival of agriculture, &c. He then goes on to address especially the inhabitants of the eastern portion of Hayti, who are still led astray by ambitious and designing men, who are dreaming of empire and authority.

He bids them remember they are of African blood; that the island of Hayti is the only asylum for the race; that in all other parts of the world, they are degraded and looked down on; and asks them how they can ever hope for the respect of the rest of the world, if they thus persist in madly endeavouring to create dissensions and divisions among the different sections of the republic; and, moreover, points out to them how defenceless they would become by such a separation as they seem to wish for; they would be cut off from their fellow-citizens in the north, south, and west, and shrewdly adds: "Have you forgotten that you live in the midst of *ci-devant* masters?" He then goes on to say that, on reflection, they cannot help seeing their true interests, and that is to rejoin the republic; and concludes by calling on Haytians, in all parts of the republic, to unite, in accordance with the evident intentions of an overruling Providence that bestowed the island on them.—*New York Herald*.

NATAL.—The annual meeting of the Natal Cotton Company was held in the Commercial Exchange, on November 28th. The reports were highly favourable. Cotton may now be considered one of the staple products of Southern Africa. Wine, grain, the best in the world, and wool, have now established this end of the continent in the good opinion of the world. The progress of wool has been most astonishing. In 1836, the quantity exported was only 373,298 lbs.; in 1846, it was 3,194,602 lbs. Pursued with equal spirit, cotton may run an equal race.—*S. A. Com. Advr.*, Nov. 29.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—The House of Assembly has refused to avail itself of the proffered loan of £100,000 offered by the mother country, for the relief of the colony, the borrowing of which was warmly recommended to the House in the speech of the Governor. Several amendments were proposed, but the resolution prepared by Mr. Whitlocke in committee was adopted—that “The terms on which the loan is offered by the Imperial Parliament, under the provisions of the 11th Victoria, c. 130, render it inadvisable for the House to accept of the proffered aid.” On the same day, (Dec. 6,) Dr. Spalding moved for and obtained the appointment of a Committee of the House, “To take into consideration the best mode of applying to the British Parliament for further compensation for the losses sustained by the owners of property by the abolition of slavery, and also for compensation for injuries sustained by the unfair competition to which the proprietors of estates in Jamaica had been exposed by the Sugar Duties’ Bill of 1846.” Thus it will be seen that the House of Assembly has put itself in a still more hostile position than ever towards the Governor and the Home Office; and, not content with definitely refusing the proffered pecuniary aid, is desirous, if permitted, to join issue with the Imperial Parliament on the long-vexed question of additional compensation for slave emancipation. Sir Charles Grey’s proposal for the establishment of an island bank for advances, &c., on agricultural produce, appears to have met with more favour from the House than the loan proposition.

BRITISH GUIANA.—At a meeting of merchants, planters, and others, held on the 29th of November, for the purpose of considering the state of the colony, the following, amongst other resolutions, were adopted:—“That a petition be prepared, to be presented to her most gracious Majesty, humbly praying that her Majesty would be pleased to cause immediate and effective measures to be taken for the better carrying into effect the treaties with foreign States for the suppression of the slave-trade, and more especially for preventing fresh importations of African slaves into Cuba, Porto Rico, and Brazil, and for restoring to freedom those Africans imported into those countries, and now illegally held in slavery therein, in violation of treaties entered into by Great Britain with Spain and Brazil respectively.”

Mr. Preston moved—“That a committee be appointed to prepare the petitions to her Majesty and to both Houses of Parliament, such committee to consist of nine gentlemen, to be elected by ballot; five to form a quorum.”

Our accounts from the Arabian coast, Wakenaam, and Leguan, are truly distressing. Scarcely one estate in the whole county of Essequibo will make a full crop. There is not at the present season so many complaints of the want of hands, but the wages of labour cannot be reduced. This being the period of the year when a considerable proportion of the sugar is manufactured, there appears to be less tightness among the proprietors and attorneys in getting the means to pay wages, for to affix bills of lading to bills of exchange is now almost invariably adopted. Many planters look forward to next year with despair. The ripe canes will be cut off by the end of this year; the wet weather will have set in, and active labour will be required to keep the grass from overrunning the canes. Where are the means of paying the people for their labour? We have no canes to cut, and cannot raise money except upon produce. We see no remedy for this colony, it is fast progressing to a state of semi-barbarism.—*Colonist*, Nov. 24.

TRINIDAD.—NEW SYSTEM OF SLAVERY FOR THE QUEEN’S SUBJECTS.—It is our opinion, says the *Grenada Chronicle*, that, in the present unsettled and distressed state of the West India islands, the only hope of the colonists is in the wise and righteous Providence of Jehovah, and, secondarily or subordinately, in the Christian people of Great Britain. We are therefore pained and deeply concerned to observe that a portion of our brother colonists, of Trinidad, are clamouring for unlawful gain, and appear not to care how much suffering may be inflicted on the unfortunate Africans, so that their wicked purpose may be accomplished. We were perfectly amazed at the folly and depravity of certain members of the Council of Government, who were the prime movers in the passing of eleven resolutions at the last sitting of the Board. If such resolutions become law, we fear a retributive Providence will overtake their abettors, and the Christian people of Britain will no longer interest themselves on behalf of the colony. Mr. Burnley’s remarks at the Council Board are peculiarly offensive. He evidently longs to see the black population reduced again to the state of vassalage, and in his erroneous efforts to save the colony from further embarrassment, inquires, “*what are the planters to do, whilst the newly imported Africans are learning to wash their nasty, filthy carcasses, and to eat with a spoon instead of putting their dirty fingers into the dish?*” Shame upon thee, thou wretched man, thus to offend the good taste of an English Lord (Harris), by remarks so insulting to the unfortunate, and so derogatory to the character of a professedly Christian counsellor.

With much pain we place the resolutions referred to before our readers,

and offer prospectively our congratulations to the friends of the Africans and their children, on the certainty that the British Government will not allow so large a portion of their loyal subjects to become the victims of this new system of slavery. The *little lords* of Trinidad may depend upon it, that *slavery*, in however modified a form, or however its admirers may attempt to gloss over its villany, will never again disgrace or afflict Society in these lovely colonies.

THE PROPOSED LOAN.—A prolonged debate took place in the House of Assembly on the 28th of November, on the question of the proposed Government loan. Mr. Sealy rose, in pursuance of notice, to discuss the question, and, after a lengthened speech, moved the adoption of the following resolution:—“Resolved, that it is the opinion of this House, that it is advisable that the Legislature should avail itself of the offer of a guarantee loan, made by her Majesty’s Government, and that the sum of £50,000 should, if possible, be obtained, to be applied in reconstructing and putting in repair the public roads and bridges of the island.” The motion having been seconded, a stirring debate took place. The House eventually divided as follows: for the resolution, 8; against it, 15. One of the members then rose and said, he felt pleasure in congratulating the proprietary body, on having escaped from the threatened imposition on their resources.

BARBADOES.—AFRICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.—A public meeting, in furtherance of the objects of the Barbadoes African Colonization Society, was held at the Bible Depository, on Monday, the 20th of November. The room was filled at an early hour of the day. The Bishop, on taking the chair, expressed the great pleasure which he felt in having an opportunity of presiding at so large and respectable a meeting, and dwelt eloquently on the duty of all Christians to aid in every effort to extend the Redeemer’s kingdom in heathen lands, and concluded by giving it as his opinion that, if the slave-trade was to be put down, and Africa was to be regenerated, it was by such instrumentality as was proposed by this Society—by sending Christian and enlightened natives of these islands, descendants of Africa, to that interesting country.

The secretary then read the report, from which we extract the following:—

“From the total failure of all efforts hitherto made for the amelioration of the condition of the inhabitants of Africa, by the Government and our fellow-subjects in Great Britain, in consequence of the effect of the African climate on Europeans, Mr. Anthony Barclay and Mr. John A. Blackman (now chairman and vice-chairman) called on Governor Reid, and made known to him their good wishes towards Africa, and received from his Excellency such encouragement and promises of his support as emboldened them to seek the co-operation of their friends and others in drawing up a memorial to the British Government, stating their wants and wishes, and soliciting such pecuniary aid and commensurate protection as would enable them speedily to commence their work of love with regard to Africa, which they felt most anxious to begin.

“A meeting was accordingly held on the 13th of April, for the express purpose of seriously considering the best practicable measures to be adopted for stopping the slave-trade, and introducing civilization into Africa, when it was agreed to forward a memorial to her Majesty’s Government, offering ourselves, with our families, to settle on any part of the western coast of Africa that the Government might be pleased to select, and there to establish a colony under the auspices of the same, provided a safe transit was granted us thither, and sufficient support afforded us, until we could obtain from the soil, and through a commercial intercourse with the natives, the means of subsistence, and by the exercise of an incumbent industry remunerate the Government for the expenses of our outfit. In this memorial we also stated the many and certain benefits that we thought would accrue to the manufactures and commerce of our fellow-subjects in Britain, as well as the certainty which would thereby be given to the attainment of the Christian and philanthropic object so long sought after by Great Britain—namely, the stopping of the abominable slave-trade.

“This memorial was signed by 102 persons, which (with the resolutions) was transmitted by the Governor to the Secretary of State for the colonies. Earl Grey did not disapprove of their project, but only regretted that, under the peculiar circumstances of Government, he could not afford the assistance asked for. The Committee, however, had taken other means for forwarding their object with some success.”

The following are the principal resolutions:—

“That the influence of superstition and ignorance on the minds of the native Africans, though confessedly great, is nevertheless not so formidable an impediment to the moral and religious improvement of Africa as is the nefarious slave-trade.”—“That the most competent agents for this undertaking are the descendants of Africa, who, having been born and reared in civilized communities, possess the necessary qualifications for imparting a knowledge of the truths of the Gospel, and of the arts of civilized life, to their unenlightened brethren on the Continent of Africa.”—“That the great number of the intelligent descendants of Africa in this island is the strongest evidence that they, above all other inhabitants of the West Indies, could (without any detriment to the several interests

of their country) engage in the enterprise of establishing a colony on the West Coast of Africa."—"That, impressed with these facts, our united and unceasing efforts be directed to the all-important objects of christianizing and civilizing the benighted inhabitants of Africa."

After the passing of the resolutions, the Bishop informed the meeting that he thought, if a petition against the slave-trade, from all classes of her Majesty's subjects in this island and throughout the West Indies, were presented to her Majesty, together with the petition from the legislature on the same subject, the effect would be good. He therefore wished to know if the meeting agreed with him in opinion.

The loud plaudits told the general satisfaction which prevailed on the subject of his lordship's suggestion.

ST. VINCENT.—LABOUR AND WAGES.—We have heard with considerable regret that on many estates in the island, and more particularly in the Windward district, the labourers, owing to a reduction of wages, have ceased field-work for the last week or two. We know not on whom the fault should rest, whether on the employer or employed, but if we understand aright, some of the proprietors and attorneys are so bent on reducing the pay of the people, that without due deliberation as to what is a fair day's pay for a fair day's work, they are recklessly cutting it down. There are some men, unfortunately, who never, by any chance, learn experience, and the policy pursued by the agriculturists since emancipation has, in a great measure, tended to produce those effects which are likely to be the bane of the West Indies.

But with regard to the fact, that some of the proprietors are entering into a combination to effect this reduction, they must bear in mind that there are two parties to play at that game, for if a hundred planters combine, a thousand labourers may also do so. Combinations may be effected in England, Barbadoes, or any densely populated country, because there is a superabundance of labour, and any suspension of work can endure but for a short time. But the matter assumes a very different phase here. Of all places in the world, we firmly believe this to be the worst in which any such suicidal policy could be pursued. We recommend every proprietor, before resorting to such an expedient, to call the work-people together, to submit his situation, and the manifold difficulties which surround him, to them, and we warrant that the people are reasonable enough to give up a portion of their daily stipend; but it will be a complete failure for the proprietary body to enter into any coalition whereby they may bring the labourers to accept any rate of wages they please to give.—*New Era*.

SAINT CHRISTOPHER.—We have received several lengthy communications from this island in reference to certain charges made against the labouring population of idleness, squatting, &c., before the Sugar and Coffee Planting Committee. The Creoles are extremely indignant, and totally deny the accusations made against them. Two meetings had been held, at which various addresses were given, from which we cannot do more than give extracts. The Chairman stated that the meeting had been convened for the purpose of considering various charges made against the labouring population, as given in evidence in England, which were a tissue of abominable falsehoods. The object is to lower wages, and to offer a pretext for the introduction of immigrants; and that they might effect that the more readily, the people of England are told that you are lazy, and won't work constantly for pay, and that your principal source of existence is from theft, and taking possession of all the spare lands on estates without leave. I do not believe that the people of England will credit the statements. Mr. Pickwood must have known of the existence of at least forty or fifty villages, and some thousands of cottages and hundreds of cows. And well he must know that no man would be such a fool as to build a house on other men's territory. And besides, where did we get our ponies that he talks about, if we were so lazy. A labourer then asked what was meant by "squatting?" The Chairman—Sitting down, lazy. The inquirer then said, that the present generation would not get rid of the practice of sitting flat down, as they had been so accustomed to it in the days of slavery. If this was to be called "squatting," it would produce oppression. As to sending Africans, let them try it; they are crying loss now, they will then cry loss in earnest. Another speaker said, in reference to the people not working on estates, the fact was, that the people worked three weeks and were paid one, and if they repeated their duns, they were ordered off; if they did not go, they would be liable to be punished for provoking language. Again, if a man happens to be sick a day, or his attention taken off by any business, his whole week's wages are bilked; formerly they went to the stipendiary magistrate, but after the law was made to compel us to go to the Petty Debt Court, we found the expense more than the pay, to which had to be added the loss of time. Therefore, on estates with such managers, the people will not work if they can help it. Another said, that he, together with his family, were turned off the Salt Pond estate because he demanded his wages, and obtained a verdict, the amount having been refused. Similar assertions were made by other speakers. Resolutions were then adopted, denying the assertions that were made against them. A statement was ordered to be prepared, showing the number of houses built, the amount of land purchased, and the probable

amount expended by the labouring classes, a copy of which has been forwarded to us, from which it appears, that during the last few years, 2,832 houses have been built by them, at a cost of from 100 to 200 dollars each; 966 lots of land have been purchased and cleared; 7,250 houses built or rebuilt on estates; 10,330 acres of land leased for cottages, provision grounds, &c.

MAURITIUS.—The Mauritius papers come down to the 8th of November. The inhabitants, through the "Central Committee," had prepared a petition to the Governor, which was to be submitted to a public meeting on the following day, in consequence of the difficulties in which they are placed, from the impossibility of realizing, except at a ruinous sacrifice, the present crop. In this petition it is represented:—

"That the planters are unable to pay their labourers their arrears of wages, although possessed of sufficient sugar to pay much more than the amount due, at the prices ruling in London by the latest advices. That their property is in consequence threatened with seizure. That the tradesmen of the colony who have furnished supplies are unpaid, and distressed from the same causes. That the drain of specie to India to pay for rice has produced an alarming contraction of the circulation, driving interest on short loans up to the ruinous rate of from 30 to 35 per cent. That the hurricane of April last and subsequent drought have caused a reduction of at least £200,000 in the amount of the crop. And that if this accumulation of evils be permitted to continue, it must end in a general bankruptcy.

"That in this state of affairs only two sources of relief can be discerned:—1. The immediate establishment of the projected Government Bank, and the issue of its notes in the form of advances upon sugar, as contemplated by the Right Hon. the Secretary of State. 2. The immediate partial cessation and general reduction of the taxation, which now weighs in a destructive form upon the colonists."

With regard to the establishment of the Government Bank, the original zeal of Lord Grey in the matter is contrasted with the present disappointment by the colonists, and it is contended that the conditional abandonment of the Commercial Bank of its right to issue notes affords a sufficient guarantee that if the proposed Bank were established, the stipulations of the Government would be properly fulfilled. On the subject of taxation, it is remarked that as the total net value of the exports for 1849 will probably not exceed £600,000, it is impossible that the inhabitants can go on paying to the Government the present annual sum of £300,000. A reduction in the scale of expenditure and an abandonment of public works are therefore called for, and the Governor is prayed to order:—

"1. That the projected Government Bank of issue be immediately established, in order that advances on sugar be furnished without delay by it to merchants and planters, as contemplated.

"2. That the export duty on sugar of 9d. per cwt. which may be shipped between the present date and the 31st of December next, be given up.

"3. That from and after the 1st of January, 1849, the whole taxation of the colony, whether in the form of customs' duties, internal revenues, immigration taxes, or sugar export duty, be reduced by one-half, as being the utmost amount which it will be possible for the island of Mauritius to contribute for the support of its internal civil Government for the future."

A petition to the Queen, of similar tenor to the above, was also about to be agreed to.

The Mauritius Price Current of the 28th of October, alluding to the course of mercantile affairs, says:—

"A large mercantile house, holding some of the best estates in the colony, has lately put up sugars for sale, payable one-half in cash and the other half as claims on the house become due. This plan, which is to be continued, has, in the present state of our monetary system, greatly facilitated transactions.

"The shipments of sugar of the crop 1847-8, up to the 25th of October, were 121,979,000, against 133,410,000 at the same period last year. Of the crop 1848-9, the shipments up to the 21st of October were 7,812,000lb., against 16,446,000lb. at the same period last year."

BOURBON.—Advices have been received up to November. The New Commissioner-General, Sarda Garigga, had assumed the reins of government, and declared the emancipation of the blacks, to take effect on the 19th of December following. He had been waited upon by a deputation of the coloured population, to return their thanks for such welcome news. His Excellency had refused to accept the assistance or to acknowledge the Assembly of Delegates. Several decrees had been issued for suppressing the Colonial Council, instituting juries, fixing an annual *Fête du Travail*—for protecting the aged, infants and orphans, repressing vagrancy, establishing a personal tax, and a tax on spirituous liquors. The colony was quite tranquil. The harvest had been smaller than usual, arising from the unfavourable state of the weather, and the disease which had attacked the sugar canes.

Miscellaneous.

THE COAST OF AFRICA.—Private letters just received from the Coast of Africa state that Lieut.-Governor Winniett was preparing for a mission to the King of Ashantee. Captain Winniett, R.N., will be the first Lieut.-Governor who has ever visited the War Chief, and it is thought much good may be expected by his visit. The King is most anxious for his arrival, and great preparations are being made at Kennasi for his reception. It is supposed he will be received by at least 35,000 men. This officer visited the King of Dahomy, the only Governor who ventured so far, and succeeded with that Chief in executing a treaty of amity and commerce, the benefit of which is now being felt by the merchants at Whydah. He has also despatched an officer to the King with a treaty for the suppression of the slave-trade in his dominions, and if it be accomplished all the cruisers in the Bight may be removed.—*United Service Gazette.*

THE SLAVE-TRADE.—By the arrival of her Majesty's brig, *Rapid*, we have advices from the Slave Coast to the 5th of December, at which date the traffic in human flesh was more flourishing than it had been for several years, especially in the north part of the station, where the runs were very bold and frequent, and captures few. A report had come down the interior of 600 slaves having been murdered by the chiefs at Palmas, in consequence of the blockade off that place, the slave owners not being able to ship them. The slave squadron was generally healthy. The only captures, reported by this arrival, are one by the *Dolphin*, with 800 slaves on board, in a dreadful state of filth and wretchedness, from close stowage and confinement; one by the *Rapid*, off Congo River, in August; one by the *Britomart*, off Moyumba, with 500 slaves, in a state of abject filth and disease, from the same cause as the above—ten of the number died in a putrid state; one by the steamer *Pluto*; and two or three by the *Sea Lark* and *Waterwitch*. The number of captures only stands in the ratio of one to fifteen which escape, which gives a fair average of the state of the trade. Slavers care little or nothing for being taken, they demand good treatment; and there is an end to their risk. We are informed of one desperate cut-throat having had the impudence to complain to the governor of St. Helena of having been taken by one of the cruising brigs on the south coast, and sent ashore short of provisions, &c., and demanding satisfaction! The whole system is gross absurdity. Captains of cruisers are tied down to too specific restrictions in matters of search.

The slaver has everything to gain, and nothing whatever to lose by comparison. He has the chance—a fair one—of landing his cargo, and getting an enormous freightage per head for it, and three or four runs, with good cargoes, "make him." On the contrary, he may be taken; but he is sure of good treatment, even though he may have fired upon and murdered numbers of his pursuers; he at the worst makes up his mind for a trial, and, if found guilty, a writ of error acquits him. Thus we stand in relation to this infernal traffic, and its oft-told tale of senile-preached suppression; but thus, again, we stand in relation to its prevention:—Every vessel added to the squadron of British cruisers is one more strengthening link in the chain of support to the trade in slavery, as the success of a good run is doubly enhanced in the eye of the slaver, and the price of the slave is enhanced in the market.

St. Paul de Loando, Nov. 15.

Since the departure of Commodore Sir Charles Hotham, this place has been the head-quarters of the senior officer, and has had occasional visits from his ship, the *Favourite*, 14, Commander Alexander Murray. The *Bonetta*, 3, Lieutenant Forbes, arrived here from Sierra Leone on the 30th ult., with the mails brought out by the *Pantagoon* and *Ranger*. She reports both the *Ranger* and *Alert* as having been on shore and sustained considerable damage. The slave-trade is greatly on the increase on the north coast, and the Pongas, Nunez, Gallinas, and Cape Mount rivers are swarming with slavers. The *Bonetta* has been exceedingly successful on that station, having taken five or six prizes. The *Pluto* sailed some weeks ago to reinforce that division. Lieutenant Joliffe has the command of her, and Mr. Christopher Albert, additional second master of the *Penelope*, has been given the command of the *Adelaide* prize tender, vice Joliffe. The *Snap*, recently a slave-steamer, but now converted into a bark, Mr. Raymond, second master, in charge, arrived here on the 5th inst. with a large quantity of stores and provisions from St. Helena, for the use of the division of the squadron employed on this station. The new governor of the Portuguese possessions on the west coast has entered on his duties at this place, and the fleet of eight or ten cruisers, under the orders of a new naval commander-in-chief, are now actively employed in the suppression of the slave-trade; their sphere of usefulness has, however, been recently crippled by a new treaty with Brazil, which limits the capture of slave vessels under that flag to within three miles of the shores of the Portuguese territories. The captain of the *Madonna* brig of war has, however, been making amends for this

restriction by burning to the ground all the barracoons belonging to the subjects of that empire, as well as those of his own countrymen along the coast. This and similar cases evidence a certain measure of vigilance on the part of the Portuguese officers to check the enormousness of the slave-trade, but, alas! they are mere isolated cases, and are, as well as the exertions of the British, next to futile in stemming the virulence of that disease which is drying up the vital energies of Africa.

We observe with much gratification, in the *Graham's Town Journal*, of the 4th instant, the formation of an "Association for introducing the Cultivation of the Cotton Plant in Albany and Kaffirland," and the formation of a Committee for carrying out its object. The following is an extract from the prospectus:—

"The objects contemplated by the Association are, to introduce and foster the cultivation of the cotton plant, by procuring supplies of seed from various parts of the world,—by obtaining and diffusing information as to the best modes of culture,—by introducing suitable machinery for cleaning,—and by offering premiums to those who may produce a sufficient quantity of cotton wool to show that it may be made a profitable article of export.

"When it is considered that the cotton plant will grow luxuriantly, not only in this province, but also in Kaffirland, along a line of coast extending inland for about twenty miles, the Committee think that they have a claim upon all who feel interested in the welfare of the colony, and of the Kaffir tribes, for such pecuniary aid as will enable them to try the important experiment, whether the cultivation of cotton can be profitably carried on.

"At present, the tract of country within the colony best adapted for the culture of the cotton plant affords but a scanty and precarious livelihood to its industrious and hardy population. To the farmers of Lower Albany an abundant season is hardly more remunerative than a scanty one; but if a new article of export, of unlimited demand, can be profitably grown, it is obvious that they, in common with all classes of the community, will derive important benefits from the successful cultivation of the cotton plant. Its introduction into Kaffirland would materially benefit the colony, as well as the Kaffir nation, and become an important element in the civilization of that people."

THE ABOMINATION THAT MAKETH DESOLATE.—"I have just returned from a journey south, and was more than ever disgusted with the 'abomination that maketh desolate.' I saw scenes too awful to describe. A single specimen of Republicanism:—I saw a girl, sixteen years old, blind, sold for 160 dollars. They said she was 'worth that to breed.' She was with child, and sold by a professed Christian on the steps of a court-house."—(*Extract of a Letter from E. W. Jackson to Elihu Burritt, dated Boston, 1848.*)

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following subscriptions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

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